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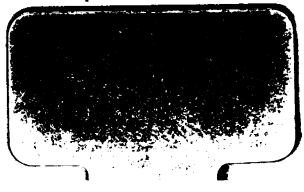

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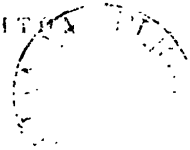

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MEMOIR

OF

JAMES HAUGHTON.

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM HIS PRIVATE AND PUBLISHED LETTERS.

BY HIS SON,

SAMUEL HAUGHTON.

DUBLIN:

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Dedicated to the Memory

OF

THOMAS CLARKSON, DANIEL O'CONNELL, JOSEPH STURGE,

JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM, RICHARD DOWDEN,

REV. THEOBALD MATHEW,

REV. DR. URWICK, RICHARD D. WEBB,

REV. JOHN SPRATT, D. D., HENRY C. WRIGHT,

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY,

AND MANY OTHERS, WITH WHOM JAMES HAUGHTON WAS

INTIMATELY ALLIED IN STRUGGLES TO PROMOTE

WORKS OF REFORM AND PROGRESS.

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PREFACE.

THE following Memoir has been compiled from private letters, from published letters and speeches, and from personal knowledge.

Some letters date from the year 1812; to the year 1838 most of them are on private affairs, chiefly written to his parents during his residence in Cork and in Dublin, up to the year 1825; afterwards to his brothers and some other correspondents; and in later years, to his own family and to friends.

From the year 1838 his published letters were very numerous; in making selections from those, as well as from his private letters, the object in view has been not only to show the tendency of his mind on religious, social, and political questions, but also to allude slightly to most of the events of his time in which he

took more or less interest, and to give some idea of the general tone of his life in private and in public—his faith in the ultimate goodness of man—his detestation of wrong-doing—and his trust in God.

As a general rule, events have been related according to the order of years, with some few exceptions where it seemed best to anticipate, in order to make more clear some of his opinions; or in some cases it has been deemed better to allude but little to some events until towards the concluding years—such, for example, as the collection of funds for building the Mechanics' Institution.

In concluding this Memoir, the compiler has now only to ask for the kind forbearance of his readers; he need not tell them that he is an untrained and unskilled writer, and he can only excuse presumption on the grounds of a feeling of duty to attempt to prolong the earthly existence of the mind of a good man; and also to show how, in a comparatively quiet and uneventful life, a man can be useful to his fellow-men, if his natural character has been trained so as to develop a vocation for such work. Only so much of his private life and of his early days has been alluded to as may tend to indicate whence and how his nature was moulded. If any readers take sufficient interest to trace the growth of his mind, it will be manifest to them that "the child was father of the man;" and that

the love of Truth, Justice, Freedom, Right, and their essential part, Self-dependence, taught him by his parents, grew with his growth, and thus became part of his trained nature.

35, ECCLES-STREET, DUBLIN,
February, 1877.

" Philosophy consists not
In airy schemes and idle speculations.
The rule and conduct of all social life
Is her great province. Not in lonely cells
Obscure she lurks, but holds her heav'nly light
To senates and to kings, to guide their councils,
And teach them to reform and bless mankind.
All policy but hers is false and rotten;
All valour not conducted by her precepts
Is a destroying fury sent from hell,
To plague unhappy man, and ruin nations."

THOMSON'S *Coriolanus*.

Copied by James Haughton in an early manuscript book, about the period when his handwriting was becoming settled from the roundness of boyhood to the even clearness with which he usually wrote.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES HAUGHTON was born in Carlow[1] on the 5th of May, 1795, and died in Dublin on the 20th of February, 1873, at No. 35, Eccles-street, in which house he had resided for more than forty years; occasionally taking a journey for a few days to visit friends, or for philanthropic objects, but only rarely and at long intervals was he absent from home for more than a few days at one time. Both of his parents seceded from the Society of Friends soon after his birth; but as it was chiefly in consequence of some difference of opinion on discipline, and possibly also some differences of belief, but not as to system of worship and general conduct, they continued to attend meeting and maintained their simple attire during their lives.

From his father James Haughton probably inherited the steadfast confidence and assertion of what he felt to be right, and the high[2] integrity which accompanied

[1] His father, Samuel Pearson Haughton, was a member of the Society of Friends (a descendant of a native of Cumberland who settled in Ireland some years before 1700). He married Mary Pim, daughter of James Pim, of Rushin, Queen's County, which place is not very far from Mullaghmast in County Kildare, where he was born. This property is in possession of one of his descendants.

[2] One of his oldest friends, and a co-director for many years, said to me after his death, "I never knew so honest a man as your father. I would not know where to look for in Dublin a man whose word might be so completely depended on."

all his transactions with his fellow-men: from both parents, the unswerving adherence to truth, and the deep religious feeling which so strongly characterized his life, his faith in the goodness and justice of God, his perpetual striving to obey the teaching of Jesus Christ, and his hope in futurity: from his mother (he was her eldest child), the loving nature which endeared him to all his friends, and the almost womanly sensibility, which at times caused him much sorrow if in the hurry of discussion or indignation at wrong-doing he chanced to utter words, which he might afterwards deem unduly severe.[1] At the same time his sense of duty often urged him to condemn strongly, and he never could sanction, the not uncommon idea—that war, slavery, tyranny, oppression, because aided and abetted by the educated classes, were, on that account, to be less severely castigated than crimes and follies of the poor and ignorant.

He had a directness of perception (which would be judged as a strength or a weakness—a good or a bad quality of mind—according to the point of view of the observer or thinker), which forced him to see that similar acts are similar, and would not allow him to

---

[1] Extracts from Letters from Cork, when 18 years of age:—

'*July*, 1813.

'MY DEAR MOTHER, . . . Nothing can afford me more heartfelt satisfaction than thy expressions of approbation; I often think of the many pleasant hours we spent together weeding and watering the garden, and hope thy good advice has made an impression on me, which neither time nor distance can efface, and it shall be my study to conduct myself so as to give neither thee nor my father any cause of uneasiness.'

'*7th October*, 1813.

'MY DEAR FATHER, . . . I hope the good advice in thy letters will take a deep hold on my mind, so that my future conduct may not give you any uneasiness. I intend to attend to thy wish about drinking punch. I take but little of it, and now intend to take less.'

see nominal differences. He would not allow that to "kill"[1] was justifiable either by war, or by capital punishment, or by assassination: he saw clearly that stealing a man's person, liberty, labour, wife and children, was robbery: and his indignation was equally strong against the oppression of the rich over the poor, as against[2] the violence of the mob; and, whether for his fellow-countrymen or for others, he ever advocated equal liberty, civil and religious.

In the course of ordinary life and every-day transactions, he could meet and work with his fellow-citizens, giving way where no strict principles were involved and accepting part for the whole: but on questions of absolute right and wrong he could not admit of compromise. He could associate on friendly terms with many friends and acquaintances who held different opinions, and who were engaged in pursuits of which he did not approve, and he was loved and esteemed by them as a conscientious and truthful man. To the slave-holder alone he deliberately refused the hand of fellowship: he could not understand how educated men of our day, professing to take the Bible as their standard of duty, could be blind, and he regarded them as wilful criminals, "the doers of the sum of all crimes and wickedness;" and surely, the judgment of God, or the natural consequences of erroneous, if not criminal conduct, never more severely inflicted retribution on an erring people than the great civil war in America from 1861 to 1865!

[1] However absolute may be the Divine command "not to kill," it is difficult to see how society can be maintained *without* physical force, the use of which must at times necessitate loss of life and war; until reason and justice take the place of passion and revenge.

[2] One of his early public acts was at a meeting in the Royal Exchange (now City Hall) with O'Connell to condemn the *violence* of trades-unionists: and he more than once related the uproar and the anger of the meeting against O'Connell, who had to leave the hall surrounded by his friends.

The first half of his life was that of an active-minded man who had his own way to make in the world. He had strongly our national feeling of family affection, and his genial sociable nature made him happy in the society of his friends and relatives: he frequently spoke of his childhood, youth, and early manhood, looking back with apparently equal pleasure on his moments of work and of idleness.

The stirring events of his early days which he heard of, read of, and partly witnessed, must doubtless have had their influence in forming his naturally strong character. The savage animosity of both sides during the Irish rebellion of 1798, and the fearful slaughter of the wars of the Great Napoleon, may have helped to confirm his education in favour of peace :—the utter upsetting of the "Balance of Power" as attempted to be established by the Peaces of 1814 and 1815 may have developed and strengthened his often-expressed opinion, that wars were ever failures in the long run ; —the vile means employed to carry the Legislative Union of the United Kingdom were ever subjects of his strongest condemnation, and strengthened his natural hatred of political trickery and secrecy. He was not at first so thoroughly liberal in politics (or radical, as some would call him) as he afterwards became ; he did not take any active part in the grand O'Connell struggle for Catholic Emancipation, but his admiration and friendship date from soon after that reform, for the man under whose portrait in his study he wrote "The friend of universal liberty, civil and religious."

He always considered that the heavy sorrow which he suffered from the death of his wife first seriously turned his mind to public questions: many years after he wrote :—

'. . . . I suppose the death of my dear wife led my mind to sober reflections on some of the great reform questions of the day, and that I was then induced to give up some portion of my time in more active efforts to improve the condition of my fellow-men; the peace movement, the anti-slavery movement, and the temperance reformation have engaged a good deal of my attention during the last twenty years.'

His childhood was passed in the town of Carlow, and in his twelfth year he was sent, in 1807, to Ballitore, and re-opened[1] the school as first boarder to James White, a most estimable Friend, for whom he ever felt the greatest respect. He remained three years[2] at school, and then returned to Carlow to assist his elder brothers (by a former marriage) at business.

In the year 1812, when seventeen years old, he went to Cork to learn business from an uncle. It was his first journey alone; and arriving late at night in Cork, he wrote:—

'. . . . As we drove through the lamp-lighted streets, my young ideas were amazed at the size of the city.'

He lived five years in Cork; of this time he wrote from memory:—

---

[1] Abraham Shackleton, the founder of Ballitore school, had educated, sixty years previously, Edmund Burke, one of the many Irishmen who have occupied a proud position in the British Empire, and whom she has honoured as one of her worthiest sons with a statue prominently placed in the gallery of the Houses of Parliament: much more recently (1868), by the exertions of a committee of whom James Haughton was an early member, the statue of Burke was placed, near that of Goldsmith, in front of Trinity College, Dublin. Foley (deceased 1874) was artist of both.

[2] Jonathan Pim, author of *Condition and Prospects of Ireland*, and twice Member of Parliament for Dublin, His Eminence Cardinal Cullen, and Richard D. Webb, were pupils of Mr. White at Ballitore in after years.

'. . . . Closely occupied in business during the week, Sunday was always hailed with delight. That glorious day was my own, and the recollection of the pleasures it brought me causes me now to feel happy when I see thousands all around me deriving similar enjoyment from the weekly return of this blessed day. I attach no particular holiness to the Sabbath day, as Sunday is erroneously called, for our lives should be devoted to God and man, every day; but I do value the Sunday as a season to be particularly devoted, in the first place to religious duties, and in the next place to rational and innocent enjoyment. I delight to see families walking abroad, enjoying the beauties of Nature which the Almighty has scattered so liberally abroad.'

He had many friends residing in and near Cork, and was ever a welcome guest and first favourite with old and young in all their houses; and to visit them, or with them, he was frequently riding and walking through the lovely scenery so abounding in the neighbourhood, and which doubtless helped to nourish his admiration of natural beauty, which was a source of much pleasure to him through life.

He came to Dublin in the year 1817, and passed two years in the employment of a maternal uncle, of whose kindness he often spoke most gratefully, especially when he commenced business in 1819 on his own account, his uncle offered to guarantee his account with his bankers, and although he never required the accommodation, he ever remembered the offer as it was meant.

His brother John was his partner for about one year in the corn and flour trade, but then left him to reside in Carlow: about two years after, his brother

William, who was some years younger, became his partner, and they continued together until the year 1850. Soon after he had given up business, he wrote of their commencement of trade with small capital, and continued:—

'. . . . From that day God blessed our labours. Sorrows came upon us in the shape of death, but this is the common lot of humanity, and we should endeavour to submit with resignation to the will of our Heavenly Father who orders all things aright. . .'

Again, of his brother:—

'. . . . He is usefully and honourably employed as Director of three[1] Railway Companies. . . . . We were partners for 29 years . . . . . We have always been much united in affection, never having had a serious difference, although on political questions we have held different views. . . . . I have been united in action with the popular or radical section of my countrymen, and I went with O'Connell for Repeal of the Union; he was opposed to that measure. These opposing sentiments never alienated us from one another, and I believe the reason is, that we ever had full confidence in each other's integrity. Our practice is to spend a good portion of every Sunday together, and when anything prevents, it is a disappointment to both.'

Although both he and his wife had been Friends, they were not united according to the then rules of that society, and they ceased to be members after their marriage at Douglas church, near Cork. They continued however to attend meeting for several years.

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[1] All long since amalgamated. Wm. Haughton has been Chairman of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company for many years.

They occasionally made journeys to visit their relations in Carlow, Tipperary and Cork, generally driving their own horse and spending several days on the road, rarely entering an inn, so numerous were their friends' houses at convenient stopping distances. On one occasion they made an excursion from the County Tipperary to the Lakes of Killarney, taking three days to drive a distance now run over in a few hours, and staying at the Kenmare Arms as the best or possibly the only hotel then in Killarney.

He lost his wife after a few years of happiness. He never married again, and although time softened the overwhelming sorrow which weighed him down for many years, yet to the end he thought of her with the fondest love; her name was often on his lips when quietly thinking during the last weeks of his life. By his unceasing care and devotion he almost replaced her loss to his children,[1] who were all too young to remember her, and to whose education and health he gave himself up for some years; they were his first thought through life, and regret to leave them was the most severe sorrow of his latter days. Letters which he wrote at the time of her death breathe a spirit of the deepest sorrow, with love and strong sense of duty to his children, and the deepest reverence and submission to the will of the Almighty: he prayed earnestly for resignation and for ability to teach those left to his care, on whom, as they grew up, he endeavoured to impress repeatedly their duty in life, holding up the life of Christ as the best example to attempt to follow.

[1] Assisted by his mother for three years before her death.

CHAPTER II.

DURING his residence in Cork he kept up constant correspondence with both parents, all his letters showing deep and grateful affection: as he grew towards manhood there was interchange of thought on the passing events of the day and on books read: his mother wrote to him in 1815 :—

> ". . . . Although thou art lonely, it is pleasant to know that thou art not destitute of resources in thy own mind to resort to a taste for reading. Paley, and other productions of similarly enlightened men, afford a fund of never-failing enjoyment wherein profit and pleasure unite."

Although as a young man, of a joyous, cheerful, hopeful and sociable nature, he at same time was evidently of a most thoughtful disposition and anxious to study such books as would continue his education during his hours of leisure from business.

So early as 1814, when only nineteen years of age, he began to write with much judgment; in one letter—alluding to visits made by deputations from the Society of Friends to the King of Prussia,[1] who received them very coldly, and the Emperor Alexander I.[1]

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[1] Both sovereigns were in England when Napoleon was in Elba, 1814.

of Russia, who received them most cordially and who also attended meeting—he fears

'. . . . his condescension has made them say more than he deserves: one of the deputation says, the Czar has gone beyond the forms of religion and that he would have no objection to call him "Christain Emperor."'

An opinion he repeats again in May, 1815:—

'. . . . I think his conduct has not been so magnanimous[1] as was at first expected; he seems to be as ambitious as any of the other crowned heads, and as desirous of extending his absolute dominion. I wonder will man be ever roused from his present state of indolence; why should millions be guided by the caprice of one? Our constitution, defective as it is, protects the subject from that tyranny. What various reports respecting Bonaparte! It is difficult to believe any news, it is so contradictory.'

His strong feeling of nationality was part of his nature. In December 1815, he wrote to his father:—

'. . . . We are apt to be partial to the place of our birth. I would rather live in Carlow than any place I have seen. Some people say the world is their country, yet for my part I like the man who says he prefers his native soil; there is something like a tie of relationship which should bind us to it.'

In the same letter:—

'. . . . I am fond of society, without which life would wear heavily; solitude at seasons is very agreeable, but I do not think man was made to enjoy it long. . . . The picture which Locke draws of bigotry is I think very just. What a number of vota-

[1] Probably some professions of liberality to Poland, or towards the serfs of the crown.

ries she enslaves! Her influence is not confined to any sect or party; she sheds her poison through all. How short is the duration of the liberality of any new sect! While in its infancy and struggling for converts, it is held out as a bait, but a little time breaks the illusion; the demon Bigotry breaks out and exercises her authority.'

Forty years later he wrote:—

'. . . . What a miserable feeling this religious bigotry is! It alienates men who would otherwise live in brotherly love, and all is done in the name of the blessed Being, who has left it upon record that, if we would be his disciples "we must love one another."'

In 1816 he seemed to think that the forcible language used by O'Connell and other agitators for Catholic Emancipation was intemperate, and tending to weaken their cause; but experience taught him in a few years that those who endeavour to combat wrong must speak plainly in order to be listened to.

His dislike to capital punishment seems to have "grown with his growth." In April, 1817, he wrote:—

'. . . . The assizes have just commenced; the Calendar presents a dreadful picture: 34 for murder, 300 for other crimes. The hanging system does not seem to lessen the frequency of crimes.'

In another letter he mentions the rate of wages for men in the city of Cork to be 6*s.* per week,[1] and no scarcity of men; and potatoes 13*d.* to 16*d.* per 21 lbs., 8½*d.* to 10½*d.* per stone. He frequently comments on the general poverty and misery of the poor.

He early believed in self-help, which he so frequently preached to the people in after years, and

[1] 1875. 12*s.* to 15*s.* per week.

he applied it to his own start in life:[1] in 1818, he wrote from Dublin to his father relative to some new plan of life:—

> '. . . . J. and I must rub on together, but it will not answer either ourselves or our business to be "waiting until something more favourable may offer;" this kind of watching for opportunities, which seldom occur unlooked for, would divide our attention too much. Whatever business we adopt we ought steadily adhere to; the idea of looking to some future uncertainty will never do.'

The hopefulness and decision of his character are both shown in above short extract; and in the conduct of business, as well as other transactions of life, he was much influenced by those two good qualities.

In the year 1819, after reading Malthus on population, and Ensor on the same subject, he wrote as follows:—

> '. . . . They seem to differ diametrically; Malthus seems to be correct in principle, although I am far from approving all he says. Is not the great cause of the wretchedness of our people the low price of wages? and whence is this? Mr. Ensor would say "bad government," and Mr. Malthus, because there are "too many labourers in the market." '

He then commented on the need for improved education to check improvident early marriages.

After hearing a noted preacher in May 1821, he wrote:—

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[1] He used to relate the reply of an old Cork workman to whom he was recommending Benjamin Franklin's economy [who began life as a printer's boy, and had been a leading statesman of the United States, and Minister to the Court of France] as an example. "Ah! Mr. James, do you think I'll starve myself in life, to have the Court of France go in mourning for me when I'm dead!"

'. . . . I could have wished for more talk about morality and good works, and less about faith and abstruse parts of Scripture.'

In that year, like many other enthusiastic loyal men (he always had strong loyal feeling), he was carried away by great hopes from the visit of King George the IV. :—

'. . . . The demon of party is banished for ever, I trust; should this prove to be the case, I know of no circumstance in history so worthy of commemoration as the visit of King George IV. to Ireland.'

A hope of political amity which he did not live to see fulfilled.

Of the cares of business he wrote in same year to his father:—

'. . . . Of late, the stores of my imagination seem nearly exhausted; the technicalities of office have usurped almost every corner of my brain. If a little ray of poetic light burst forth, it is almost immediately overwhelmed by a combined attack of bills to pay, flour bags and corn sacks; and whenever I am on my way back from an idle ramble, it returns with full force on the first faint view of the lofty spires of this smoky city, yclept Dublin. My profits exceed my expenses. I might certainly save more and dispense with a horse, but I might not then enjoy such good health[1] which is a necessary

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[1] Thomas Jefferson wrote from Paris in 1787 to T. M. Randolph: "With your talents and industry, and that steadfast honesty which eternally pursues right regardless of consequences, you may promise yourself everything but health, without which there is no happiness. The time necessary to secure this by active exercises should take the place of every other pursuit. I know the difficulty with which a studious man tears himself from his studies; but his happiness and that of his family depend on it," &c. Again, to Peter Carr, "Health is the first requisite after morality."

ingredient along with money to help us to enjoy ourselves in this life.'

On the subject of taking an oath he shows his clear perception of realities; writing to his father in April, 1823:—

'. . . . I wish to be guided by thy sentiments as far as I can agree with them: I therefore intend to avoid taking an oath. At the same time, it does appear to me, that the common form of an oath and of an affirmation differ in form not in spirit.'

He deemed the Scripture command to be, to use merely "a simple yea or nay"; but whilst he condemned vain forms, he judged men as they are—

'. . . . Kissing the book appears to me a foolish form: at the same time, were it not for the shameful frequency of the ceremony, on every trivial occasion, I am satisfied it would be attended with good effects. Educated as men now are, the majority require some strong power acting on their fears, to counteract erroneous ideas of self-interest (which often induce them to conceal the truth), and that the oath has this effect, I cannot doubt.'

His father, with some of the feelings of the old school of economy, was at times apprehensive that his sons might not practise due economy: writing in April, 1825, the answer was:—

'. . . . We feel that we are not running beyond our means; Sterne, we think, says, "A cheerful enjoyment of the blessings allotted to us is the best worship an illiterate peasant can pay—aye, or a learned prelate either," or words to that effect.'

In same letter:—

'. . . . We are very little engaged in the world of politics, but the great question of Catholic Emancipation is now subject of universal inquiry. If party spirit and dissensions be banished the measure will

be a happy one. We have been long a divided people, divided by what every man of sense must condemn—the foolish rancour of sectarian ideas. Difference of opinion is inseparable from our nature, but charitable feelings ought to accompany it and make us agree to differ without quarreling.'

CHAPTER III.

BUSINESS and care of his family now occupied most of his time and thoughts for several years. After the death of his father, and when his mother came to reside with him, he lost his chief correspondents, and for some time his letters were very limited in number.

His liberal politics were tolerably decided in 1830: on 4th November he wrote to his eldest brother:—

'. . . . Such a king's speech! No reform in any shape, says the Duke;[1] some account of outrages in London by to-day's packet. Are all the governors of mankind mad?'

Again, a few days later:—

. . . . '£50 now freely offered for a vote in Liverpool. High-minded England!! Let us have Repeal: our people can't be worse!'

Of the repressive measures and arrest[2] of O'Connell in 1831:—

'. . . . The measures of our Government have of late been harsh and unconstitutional to such a degree that I wonder there has not been an universal outcry against them.'

Again, a few days later:—

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[1] Wellington.

[2] Bail given same day, and no prosecution.

'. . . . If the present Government put down the Anti-Unionists they will soon gag the Reformers too. You may depend on it, that Earl Grey and his party will propose no reform that will be worthy the name . . . . . Repeal is not more opposed by aristocrats than Reform, that is, any reform worth having.'

About this time he had already begun to inquire into the subject of Vegetarianism, having bought and noted "J. Newton on Vegetable Regimen," published in 1811—a book he afterwards more than once quoted from, when he gave up flesh diet.

His first visit to England was in the year 1831, to see the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway.[1] He was not at all charmed with the uninteresting country between those towns:—

'. . . . we flew from Liverpool to Manchester, and in both places saw much to admire. I went at a more moderate pace to Chester, a fine old city; but in all this travelling I saw no city to admire like Dublin for beauty, and as for green fields or beautiful scenery, I beheld nothing to bear comparison with our native beauties. The country I saw is miserable, and the farming not superior to our own. I was taken to Eaton Hall "the first place in England," and I was amazed to behold the waste of money on such a waste. I pitied the taste of the owner which is not even displayed in keeping the place neat.'[2]

Of the elections after the Reform Bill of 1832, he wrote to his brother:—

[1] At the opening of this first passenger railway, the noted political economist and statesman, Huskisson, was accidentally killed on the line.

[2] His idea of neatness and cleanliness was perhaps too exact.

'DUBLIN, 19*th December.*

'. . . The elections are also a bar to business here . . . . Among the Radicals all has gone off peacefully, but some of the *educated* clergy have not acted with the like good sense.'

Search after truth[1] was eminently a part of his nature, and he regarded false dealing and deception as amongst the most serious evils of the world. An intimate friend, twenty-five years his junior, who knew him well, and who was a frequent guest, especially at his Saturday dinners, often said that at no table did he meet such a variety of minds seeking after and discussing the various social and moral questions of the day: and that "this constant search after right and truth on every subject in the house of his old friend was one of the most striking facts he now remembers of his first years in Dublin, whilst his own real life was only commencing."

He was a good converser, and although he had not been educated in the *finesse* of logical and legal argument, it was not easy in discussion to upset his clear reasons based on an array of facts and on the principle of equal justice for all mankind.

As well as association with old friends, he was fond of meeting and inviting to his house men younger than himself, especially those who had commenced to show some genius or prospect of ability in their various professions or employments.

It might be written of him what the Rev. John

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[1] "Oh fatal falsehood, Mother of all evil!
Sorrow-bringing, thou destroyest us! Truth, the pure,
The world-preserving, had saved all!"

SCHILLER'S *Wallenstein.*

Angel James said in his sermon, of Joseph Sturge (who died 1859):—"When his mind was once made up on a point of duty, he was resolved to go forward though all the world frowned or laughed in chorus. If others would go with him, well; if not, he would go alone. These are the men who bless the world, the men of determination to breast the wave of opposition and encounter the storms of ignorance or reproach."[1]

James Haughton and Joseph Sturge did not become acquainted before the anti-slavery convention of 1838, or that of 1840; but for several years before, and for many years after, they worked for the same political, social, and moral reforms. They had many points of character alike: equally firm in their own judgment of right, equally strong to condemn wrong, and often with decided and clear language, they were both equally willing and anxious to atone, if excess of zeal hurried them into expressions more forcible than they intended: but, on many questions, they alike believed that truth required plain condemnation of crime and sin: both were decidedly religious, and both were eager advocates of religious freedom for all. Joseph Sturge was long admired and respected by James Haughton, and his portrait hung in his study amidst those of O'Connell, John Bright, Richard Cobden, Thomas Clarkson, William Lloyd Garrison, Father Mathew, etc. Joseph Sturge and his brother gave up the sale of malt and barley because used in making intoxicating drink, and James Haughton (with consent of his brother) gave up the trade in same articles. The former was much interested in the free labour movement, and in attempts to introduce manufacture of free labour cotton and to promote its cultivation in

[1] "Memoirs of Joseph Sturge," by Henry Richard, M. P.

India; the latter for many years (until final abolition of slavery in the United States in 1865) gave up the use of cotton, replacing it by linen, flannel, &c., and he also bought East Indian instead of Carolina rice: his strong enmity to tobacco was chiefly caused by his detestation of a blood-stained product of slavery. Joseph Sturge gave generously of his wealth in aid of various benevolent institutions and associations for reform, and the name of James Haughton was not unknown in proportion to his moderate means; he was on the committees of several charitable institutions, and as to every other duty which he undertook he was most regular and persevering in his attendance, ever seeking to have the work done systematically and promptly. Being in private life orderly and punctual, he attempted to persuade others, not only to carry out public duties regularly, but also to bestow the same care and attention as on their own affairs.

Although he was not amongst the first promoters of the Dublin Temperance Society in 1829, he very soon became a subscriber to the funds, and turned his attention to a question which was in a few years to become his chief duty in life to promote.

It may be interesting to give a few dates of the early temperance movement. The Rev. George W. Carr, of New Ross, founded the first temperance society in the United Kingdom, 1829; the Rev. Dr. Edgar founded a society in Belfast immediately afterwards; later in the same year Dr. Harvey and Dr. Cheyne, two esteemed physicians set on foot the Dublin Temperance Society in William-street, and there are still to be met with several small pamphlets written by Dr. H., Dr. C.,[1] Rev. Dr. Urwick, Mr. Napier, Rev. Dr. Doyle

[1] Probably Dr. Harvey and Dr. Cheyne.

Catholic Bishop of Kildare, and printed by the late Richard D. Webb, a man long well known as a philanthropic reformer. In 1830 the name was changed to the Hibernian Temperance Society: Mr. Crampton, then Solicitor-General for Ireland (afterwards Judge Crampton), Sir Philip Crampton, Bart., Rev. Dr. Sadlier, S. F. T. C. D. (afterwards Provost of Trinity College, Dublin), and Lord Cloncurry taking part in the movement, which so far was merely to encourage abstinence from ardent spirits, such as whisky, rum, gin, &c. Many other men of high standing then gave their support and patronage; the Bishop of London was president at one of the early public meetings in that city: but, as the agitation (commenced in America in 1826, or to some extent as early as 1808, but then little thought of) grew to teetotalism in 1832 to 1834, and at last to the prohibitory laws of the State of Maine in 1846 and 1851, it became less attractive to men of wealth and to men of education; and, with the exception of the few years of excitement during Father Mathew's active crusade against intoxicating liquor, the teetotal movement remained for many years in the hands of the poor and hard-working people, aided by a few energetic and persevering minds. For several years, however, the evils caused by drink have been compelling men of all classes to enlist in the ranks of the Alliance to promote restrictive legislation against sale of intoxicating liquor; this agitation is now becoming a political power, and within a few years some decided measure will probably be enacted.

CHAPTER IV.

ONE of James Haughton's earliest appearances in public was at a meeting held in 1832 by James Silk Buckingham—a man for whom he felt much respect as a foreseeing and enlightened thinker on the great moral, social, and political questions of the day. Mr. Buckingham had been for many years a practical abstainer, and in 1834, when M. P. for Sheffield, he was chairman of a Committee of the House of Commons for an "Inquiry on Drunkenness." He visited Dublin to agitate the question of trade with China and India, and to seek to abolish the monopoly sanctioned by the Charter to the East India Company, which was then soon to be renewed; in fact, he then advocated the government of India by Ministers responsible to the Crown and to the nation, but it required nearly thirty years and the slaughter of the mutiny to convince public opinion that Mr. Buckingham was right;[1] on many other questions, such as freedom of slaves, free sale of land, free trade, the making of the Suez Canal, &c., he also held opinions in advance of his day, and was of course condemned as an enthusiast, and as if a jobber. Many of the leading mercantile men of Dublin then took part in

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[1] See Chap. xiv.

the meetings held to promote freedom of trade with the East. Dr. Orpen, Robert Roe, and James Haughton were the secretaries, and much of the work seems to have been done by the last.[1] Richard Allen and Richard D. Webb, already active in the Temperance Society, were also frequently at the committees.

It was somewhat before this year that he began to devote part of his time to public and benevolent institutions, to several of which he for years gave up some hours weekly. Several societies where his name appeared have since been merged in others. He was one of the early supporters of the Zoological Gardens, founded 1831. His name is on the list of subscribers to the Hibernian Temperance Society in 1832.

His interest in the anti-slavery movement was shown by a liberal subscription to help to pay expenses of a deputation to London in 1833, when Lord Stanley carried his apprenticeship motion for the West Indies, by which it was decided that slavery should be abolished after seven years more of modified oppression.

The previous year, after the elections under Lord Grey's Reform Bill, "Boards of correspondence were formed in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin for the immediate abolition of slavery."[2] Although the slave trade was abolished by Wilberforce's Bill in 1807,[3] and made felony by Brougham's Bill in 1811, yet it was not until 1823, and then very cautiously,

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[1] Which was often the case in the many public duties he afterwards undertook.

[2] "Memoirs of Joseph Sturge."

[3] A similar Bill, brought in by Wilberforce in 1791, and supported by Fox, Burke, and Pitt, was defeated.

that Mr. Buxton[1] submitted to the House a resolution to call in question the lawfulness of negro slavery.

James Haughton had been early educated with anti-slavery sentiments; in boyhood he and his brothers were already encouraged by their parents to abstain from slave-grown sugar—a principle he afterwards applied to cotton. An old poem[2] of 1792 (with his mother's name written in it) contains two passages marked and noted by him, which help to indicate his early thoughts on two questions. The lines are part of an appeal to God, and wonder why he permits slavery—

> "My finite views in wonder lost remain
> The myst'ries of Thy mercy to explain."

And the author's note—

"Religion, justice, and humanity apart, the slave trade is an indignity offered to human nature, that ought to be resented by the whole world."

In 1834 he became life member of the Royal Dublin Society, and occasionally in after years took part on some of the committees of management or at the general meetings, when the control of the Society was more in the hands of the members than it has been since changes were made by a supplemental charter from her Majesty Queen Victoria, in December, 1866. He also read various papers at the evening meetings, but not very often, as scientific, industrial, and agricultural subjects were more suitable there than moral or social questions.

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[1] "Memoirs of J. Sturge."

[2] By T. Wilkinson—*An Appeal on behalf of Abused Africans.* Published by R. Jackson, Meath-street, Dublin.

In the same year, 1834, he joined the Unitarian congregation of Strand-street,[1] where the Rev. James S. Armstrong, D. D., and the Rev. William Hamilton Drummond were then ministers, both of the highest character as Christian teachers and as learned men. He continued to be a member of the Unitarian Church for the rest of his life, and at many annual meetings his urgency induced not only his fellow-members, but also the general Irish Synod, to send protests to America against slavery. He also, both at those meetings and by his pen, in various Unitarian publications, continually urged Unitarians to show their "faith by their works," and to aid and assist the moral reforms of the day. The following extracts from a small pamphlet,[2] doubly marked by him about the year 1835, help to indicate the tendency of his thoughts:—

"But we do not expect to merit heaven by our best obedience. The idea of the merit of human beings, as giving them a claim of right to acceptance on the part of their Heavenly Father, is one which never entered into our minds. We look entirely to His mercy and compassion for salvation."

Again:—

"With us the worst of all heresies is a wicked life, and the most important controversy is that which we wage incessantly against sin."

In America he might probably have been an Universalist Christian; no doctrine was more repugnant to him than that of eternal torment, as utterly inconsistent with his belief in the goodness, mercy, and justice of God. He never could understand the *Christian* animosity, and the hating each other for the "love of God,"

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[1] The united congregations of Strand-street and Eustace-street removed to a new church in St. Stephen's-green, in the year 1863.

[2] By the Rev. John Scott Porter, of Belfast.

unhappily so prevalent amongst the professing followers of Jesus; and whilst advocating the greatest freedom of religious thought, he saw no good reason why all sects should not walk in the path of good works pointed out by Jesus Christ. At an Unitarian entertainment given to Charles L. Corkran in 1841, as reported in the *Bible Christian*—

"Mr. James Haughton responded to the sentiment—

'All our Christian brethren. May they hold the Bible as the foundation of Christianity, both in faith and practice'—

in a benevolent and charitable strain, and showed that, whatever differences existed amongst Christians, all professed at least to derive their faith from the Bible. He hoped the time would soon arrive when all would throw off the shackles of tradition and creeds, and hold the Bible *only*. Mr. H. then particularly pointed out, amongst other things, the propriety of all classes of Christians, especially Unitarians, exerting themselves against slavery and war."

His faith and hope were strong, and although far from following or yielding up his judgment to orthodox creeds in their entirety, he never gave up a firm belief of re-union in a future state with beloved friends:—'God grant that we may be united in Heaven.'

Again:—

'The ways of Providence are indeed inscrutable by us weak mortals, but we must submit, and it is our duty to bear the inflictions of His hand with unrepining spirit. Sorrow we must when affliction comes upon us, but let us not sorrow without hope; a bright and joyous resurrection is promised to us if we be found faithful to the end.'

And this tone pervaded all his letters and conversation about religion throughout his long life.

One idea, which he frequently talked of, to promote universal religious brotherhood, was the construction of a mighty temple in St. Stephen's-green, divided into numerous chapels or meeting-houses for every sect, and surrounded by elegant gardens and covered promenades, so that all could meet in friendly intercourse after worship!

In 1835 he had increased his subscriptions to temperance societies, and other subscriptions were becoming more numerous; the Fever Hospital, Cork-street, appears on his list, he was for many years one of the managing committee, and every Thursday morning, while in health and able for the work, he walked across the city or through the Phœnix Park to breakfast at the Hospital, being one of the most regular attenders, and rarely absent. About this time he also began to give substantial aid to politics: "Freedom of Election Fund," "Association for Protection of Rights of Conscience," "The O'Connell Fund," "O'Connell Dinner," "Carlow Election," "School for coloured people in Canada," "Reform Association," are sufficient to show his opinions.

The British Association met in Dublin in 1835; he became life member in 1836;[1] the fee was then only £5.

Some of his letters about this time begin to contain remarks about temperance, and generally concluded with his two strong sentiments, duty and love:—

'Remember, constantly remember, that all your actions are known to the Almighty, and endea-

[1] About this time, and for several years, he took a good deal of interest in phrenology.

vour to avoid doing anything which you think He would be offended at.'

Again :—

'Remember that Jesus Christ left it as His great injunction that we should love one another if we wished God to love us.'

In June, 1836 :—

'I attended a temperance tea-party last night, the same room we were in before; it was greatly crowded. I hope you will be a warm advocate of temperance. Every friend of his fellow-creatures ought to discourage the use of whiskey.'

He was not yet a total abstainer.

CHAPTER V.

IN the year 1837 there was an active contest for election of Members of Parliament for the City of Dublin. In answer to a circular asking for subscriptions for "prosecuting the petition to Parliament against the return of Messrs. O'Connell and Hutton," he wrote a pointed refusal, of which two extracts suffice:—

'. . . . I beg to inform your Committee that my vote and interest were most heartily given to both those gentlemen at the late election.'

Again:—

'. . . . I am a friend to the maintenance of the British Constitution. I think it is always violated when equal rights and privileges are refused to any class of the people.'

He had all through life a high opinion of British justice and liberality, but he never hesitated to blame wrong-doing, whether of Irish or of English, or of other people.

In the same year he had some correspondence with Robert Hutton, M.P. for Dublin, on slavery in the West Indies, or apprenticeship as it was called since 1833–4. His last sentence shows that he was yet little engaged in public work:—

'. . . . Public opinion is made up of a multitude of voices. I am one of the atoms that seldom shows

itself in active life, but I feel warmly in favour of liberty at home and abroad.'

But the next year, 1838, he came forward more prominently as one of the energetic men of the world. He was then about forty-three years old. His face was handsome, his carriage erect, and his manner good, but he was not an orator, and always preferred to prepare and read his speeches when possible. He enjoyed fairly good physical health, and was able to take a large amount of walking exercise, which he continued to practise until old age compelled him for the few last years of his life to be satisfied with driving and short strolls.

He had for some time, and on several occasions, exerted himself to promote a reform as a grand juror, by protesting against the absurd "legal fictions" of finding bills against pickpockets with the words "force and arms, swords, sticks, &c.," and early this year he induced twenty-seven grand jurors to unite and send a petition to Parliament in favour of a measure to abolish such untruths.[1]

The anti-slavery party had never been quite satisfied with the apprenticeship compromise,[2] and now, utterly discontented with the bad faith which they believed to be exhibited in the West Indies, they were actively agitating for immediate abolition.

On the 29th March, 1838, Sir George Strickland moved in the House of Commons "That this House is of opinion that apprenticeship in the British colonies, as established by the Act of Abolition passed in the year 1833, should cease and determine

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[1] The change made long since.

[2] See pp. 23, 34.

on the 1st August in the present year." "Ayes 215; noes 269."

O'Connell had early come to the front as a decided anti-slavery man, a position which he courageously held throughout his career: knowledge of this consistent advocacy of freedom was probably the earliest and most lasting bond of mutual esteem between him and James Haughton. An extract to be quoted presently will show how the latter already estimated the integrity of O'Connell.

After the defeat of 29th March, Mr. Haughton wrote most earnest letters to Mr. Hutton and to Mr. Richard Lalor Sheil, entreating them as liberal Irishmen[1] to come boldly forward as supporters of freedom, and to vote for Sir Eardley Wilmot's motion:—"That negro apprenticeship in the British Colonies should immediately cease."[2] It was brought forward on the 22nd May, 1838, and carried by a majority of three. Thomas Fowell Buxton (not then M.P.) wrote to a friend:—

"ATHENÆUM, *May* 23, 1838.

"I must write a line to tell you that Sturge and that party whom we thought all in the wrong are proved to be all in the right. A resolution for the immediate abolition of the apprenticeship was carried by a majority of three last night. The intelligence was received with such a shout by the Quakers—myself among the number—that we strangers were all turned out for rioting!"[2]

James Haughton was amidst the noise and congratulations in the lobby of the old House of Commons: he had also previously done many long days' work, making calls at houses for names to petitions, or attending the committees of the Anti-slavery Society, or calling on members of the House to try to influence their votes. He was one of a deputation from the

[1] Always anxious that Irishmen should be consistently right!

[2] "Memoirs of Joseph Sturge."

Hibernian Anti-slavery Society. He wrote to his brother William :—

'LONDON, *23rd May*, 1838.

'. . . . We gained a great victory last night in the House of Commons. The friends of immediate emancipation have had a majority of three—ninety-six for, ninety-three against the motion. The Ministry are still our bitter opponents: Lord John Russell declared that any Bill which might be brought by Sir Eardley Wilmot, in consequence of the division, should meet their decided opposition.[1] They are mad, thus to oppose the united voice of the nation, and thus to give their support to robbery and injustice. The Committee (anti-slavery delegates) met three miles off at 10 o'clock to-day, and at 11 to-morrow some M. P.s are to be with us, when I suppose future measures will be arranged. The debate last night was short: you will see it in the "Sun." Mr. Bulwer made a noble speech;—Hume a crafty one against us. O'Connell and other great speakers did not come forward, as the Ministerial party, cock-sure of victory, called for a division when Bulwer sat down. I got this frank[2] from O'Connell to-day. He is I believe an honest man, more candid and open than most great men: he is received here with enthusiasm, but as is the case at home, some mean minds cannot believe in his integrity, although his whole life has been devoted to man's freedom . . . . We must devote a few days to seeing some lions here, and then, homewards . . I was invited to go up with the address of the Irish

[1] Although they did oppose and won, yet the West Indies, wiser in judgment, practically at once adopted abolition, and neither popular disturbance nor outbreak, so much talked of, took place!

[2] High postage at that time.

ladies to the Queen, but I could not prevail on myself to put on the Court dress, so I declined the honour.'[1] He had been in England for a few days, in Lancashire and Cheshire, in 1831; but his first visit to London was in 1838, and he gives an interesting account of his journey and his impressions of England, and mentions that the railway between London and Liverpool was not then quite completed, and that some thirty to forty miles of the journey from Denbigh to Rugby (where there is now a long tunnel) had to be travelled in coaches and omnibuses. He was much struck by the absence of misery:—

'. . . . there is a total absence of that wretchedness and misery which are so apparent in our poor Ireland: there is a good deal of poverty, but I saw nothing like misery or degradation. Nearly all the houses and cottages have a trim and neat appearance, and the entire country is literally a garden: nothing struck me more than the appearance of the fields and farms, on which a degree of care and attention are expended of which Irish farmers have no notion. As far as I can judge, the soil is much inferior to ours; the country is not to compare with our own in natural beauty. I was told by one gentleman that we passed over some of the best land in England; none of it can boast the luxuriant appearance of Ireland, but there is no waste here, all is cultivated. Industry is apparent everywhere, and it is rewarded by many blessings from the hand of a good and bountiful Providence. The country is flat; we did not see one range of mountains—nothing even like

[1] He never went to Royal or Vice-Regal Court.

Clogrennan; and not one place on our entire route to compare in beauty with Col. Rochefort's demesne, or with Borris, or with many others in our own beloved land.[1] Still the absence of mendicity in the one country, and the great prevalence, with its accompanying filth and its wretched cabins, in the other country, raises England immeasurably above us in all that constitutes a happy and a flourishing people. Ireland is no doubt improving; let us hope that she will yet equal England in worth among the nations of the earth.'

He wrote from memory in the year 1854:—

'. . . . In the year 1838, I attended an anti-slavery convention in London, which was instrumental in effecting the total abolition of slavery in our West India colonies. This noble act was consummated on the 1st of August, when 800,000 slaves were set free, and England was freed from the crime of holding men in bondage. The Act of Emancipation was really passed in 1834, but it was accompanied by a seven years' apprenticeship,[2] which was found to work so barbarously that the friends of justice were once more thoroughly aroused, and the West India planters were induced to yield the boon of freedom, three years in advance of the stipulated period. It is true that they had sufficient influence in the British Parliament to wring the enormous sum of twenty millions of pounds sterling out of the pockets of the people: but the great act of freedom was accomplished. It was an act that called forth the admiration of the world. America alone — blood-stained, slavery-cursed

[1] Whenever possible he looked at Ireland and the Irish through magnifying glasses!

[2] Page 23.

America! of all the civilized nations upon earth, scowled and yet scowls on the righteous act, which in a moment converted 800,000 human creatures, who had been held as chattels, into the condition of accountable beings! There has been no cause to regret this great deed of justice.'

The British nation thus with its usual love of compromise had only yielded step by step, and, even when paying the large compensation, we had, through a mistaken sense of honour, paid the money to our fellow wrong-doers, the slave-holders, instead of giving it as some small atonement, to the liberated slaves, for the injustice and oppression they had so long suffered.

CHAPTER VI.

NOW that this great question had been so far decided, the energetic reforming philanthropists were free to undertake other work. The Anti-Corn-Law League grew in dimensions, and commenced the ten years' agitation.[1] Mr. Haughton was a decided free-trader; he had no confidence in temporary compromise or commercial treaties; he regarded free trade as a great promoter of Christianity and peace; and he frequently wrote sound advice to the Irish people to entreat them not to allow national prejudice, or the apparent temporary advantages of protective duties, to induce them to sustain unsound principles. He would have thrown open the trade of the United Kingdom to the whole world, without restriction, except to slave-holding nations, with whom he believed we should cease to hold intercourse, diplomatically or commercially, beyond the most absolute necessity demanded by international affairs.

Total abstinence or teetotalism had already, to a great extent, taken the place of the movement first promoted as temperance or abstinence from spirits.

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[1] Letter from Hon. C. P. Villiers to Joseph Sturge, 15th August, 1838:—"I will take the earliest opportunity in the next Session to bring the matter on, with the view to a motion for the total repeal of such taxes—(on food)—which I conceive to be imposed by the Corn Laws."—*Memoir of J. Sturge.*

The first total abstinence society was most probably founded in Paisley, in the year 1832, and soon after in Preston, where it is said to have found the name "teetotal" from a stuttering pledge-taker; but such societies had not become very general before 1835, in which year R. G. White, Esq., Sheriff, founded the first Dublin Total Abstinence Society. It was not, however, until William Martin (a Friend) and Richard Dowden (an Unitarian) persuaded the Rev. Father Mathew to take the pledge in Cork, 10th April, 1838, that new life was given to the reformation, and a wondrous enthusiasm arose, so that in a few years the number of pledged abstainers was stated to be nearly 6,000,000! The good effects continued for many years, and although there has been a serious relapse, even yet the degrading evils caused by drink are not so glaring as formerly.

In this year 1838, James Haughton began those letters to the public press, which, until 1872, made his name so well known at home, and also in America and in our Colonies—on temperance, anti-slavery, British India, peace, anti-capital punishment, sanitary reform, education, and occasionally on political or other subjects of public interest. As these letters were published by the press of various political shades, it may be assumed that there was not only considerable public interest in those questions, and in his manner of discussing them, but also that the writer was much respected even by those who held different opinions.

His first published letters were on the great mission of his life, and without his name, but were not numerous, as he wrote in notes, 1854 :—

'When I began to write on the temperance question, I signed my letters "The Son of a Water-

drinker." I soon discontinued the practice, from a dislike to anonymous publications. My father was a teetotaller for probably forty years of his life: he died in the year 1828, in his eightieth year. The temperance reformation was unknown in his time.'

One of his first letters was to the editor of the *Irish Temperance and Literary Gazette* :—

'WHISKEY AND THE REVENUE.

7th April, 1838.

'SIR—I have had it for some time past impressed on my mind that one of the most effectual means within our reach of arresting the progress of intemperance is endeavouring to convince the public of the impropriety of in any manner sanctioning the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits; and so long as the Government derives any portion of its revenue from that unholy source, the nation at large sanctions the use of an article which is productive of such misery and degradation. My object at present is to suggest the propriety of a petition to our young and gracious Queen,[1] requesting her to call on Parliament at once to relinquish all revenue[2] derived from ardent spirits. If Her Majesty could be induced thus to brand the trade in those poisons as degrading and destructive of morality and virtue, no man of any respectability could long continue to deal in them. Since the visit of John Hockings,[3] I have known and heard

[1] His loyalty was frequently expressed and by no means weakened by his strong opinions in favour of parliamentary government in Ireland.

[2] Several times in after years he sent such petitions to the Queen and to the Houses of Parliament.

[3] A Birmingham blacksmith, and a powerful speaker on temperance.

of several persons who have given up the use of intoxicating drinks; so that I am inclined to the opinion that the working classes are well prepared to receive information as to the folly of using ardent spirits, so that the reduction in price of whiskey that might follow the giving up of duty would not in all probability be productive of even *present* baneful effects; *ultimate* good, I have no doubt would be the result.

'THE SON OF A WATERDRINKER.'

In other letters he maintained that the chief cause of Irish pauperism was drunkenness, or rather the 'utter waste of vast sums of money upon whiskey;' and alluding to the poor laws then proposed for Ireland, he wrote:—

'.... I think it would be better and wiser to pay every distiller of this poison in our country the full value of his premises, and then utterly prohibit the manufacture for ever.'

It will be observed that he already alluded to several opinions which were perpetually before him, either in more decided, or in somewhat modified form—that the Irish would not be miserable, and that there was abundant money in Ireland, if not wasted on strong drink; that it was immoral to draw revenue from an immoral trade; that prohibition of the trade would be beneficial to the nation; that there was much sense of right amongst the people; that the revenue would gain ultimately by increased consumption of other articles.

The visit of the above-mentioned John Hockings had a powerful effect in stirring up the advocates of total abstinence. At the first annual meeting of "The Dublin Juvenile Temperance Society on total ab-

stinence principles," May 2, 1838, in the Round Room, Rotunda; Sir Francis le Hunte of the Co. Wexford in the chair, a well-known philanthropist; the speakers were James Haughton, George Brown, Charles Corkran, Rev. William McClure, John Hockings, Richard D. Webb, Richard Allen.

The gradual advance to strict total abstinence by James Haughton had been slow but steady; it had caused a severe struggle in his mind to give up not only the customs of society, but to become to a great extent antagonistic to many of his most intimate friends. He had at first banished spirits only from his table. He used to relate an anecdote of a labouring man occasionally employed, and to whom, as was then customary, he was offering a glass of whiskey after the work, and at same time telling him how mischievous it was, and how much better to abstain—the man smacking his lips at the unusual good liquor: "May I make bold to ask your honour why you keep it yourself?" It was a home thrust, and he did not keep it long. He was afterwards a practical total abstainer for some time before he banished all kinds of intoxicating drinks from his house,[1] where they never reappeared, and genuine hospitality and pleasant conversational dinners continued frequent, and his guests seemed to feel but little the absence of alcohol, if one might judge by the generally lively talk and discussion. It was in 1838 that he became quite decided, and in 1839 a pledged teetotaller.

He had not taken up the temperance reform as a sudden enthusiast, whose zeal dies out when the exciting cause is absent, or when a movement becomes

[1] He had, for some time, sent round wine at his table as "a tempting poison," but he found this plan to be inconsistent with strong advocacy of total abstinence.

unpopular and unfashionable. He bestowed great research on the evil effects produced by the use of alcohol, and having clearly satisfied himself he worked perseveringly for the remedy, at first hoping that temperance, then that total abstinence, would work the cure; but at last, feeling himself compelled to believe that the temptation must be abolished by legislation.

An extract from Sir Arthur Helps's "Spanish Conquest of Mexico," on the persevering benevolence of Las Casas, may be here not inaptly quoted, in so far as it treats of unwearied perseverance, without in any way attempting to compare the amount of work done, or the labour and danger endured by men so differently situated :—

"Of his power to persevere the history of the Indies, if faithfully told, will convince every reader. Indeed, in this power lay the peculiarity of his character, and it was that which marked him out from other men of his time as much perhaps as his benevolence.

"This kind of perseverance is much more rare than people suppose . . . . . Rarer even than profound attention in the intellect is this kind of pertinacity in the moral powers. Each day brings its own interests with it, and makes its claims very loudly upon the men of that day; but a man with a great social purpose has to work on at something which for any given day appears very irrelevant, and makes him seem very intrusive. This unwelcome part he must perform amidst the disgust and weariness of other people, through weeks, months, years, perhaps of the most dire discouragement, when all the while life seems too short for a great purpose; and when he feels the tide of events ebb by him and nothing accomplished. But all these vexations and hindrances are as nothing when compared with the weariness and want of elastic power which arise from that terrible familiarity with their subject, which in the case of most persons, unless they have very deep and imaginative souls, grows over and incrusts like a fungus the life of their original purposes. There are everywhere men of an immense capacity for labour, if their duties are such as to come to them day by day to be done, and are connected with self-advancement and renown; but that man is somewhat of a prodigy who is found in self-appointed labour as earnest, as strenuous, and as fresh for his work as those who receive impulses daily renewed which keep them up to their tasks."

The foregoing extract is most applicable to his

"perseverance" in "self-appointed labour" on the temperance question, "through years, perhaps of the most dire discouragement," more especially for those years between the time when the popularity of the movement declined after the death of Father Mathew and the recent growth of the Alliance to promote the Permissive Bill. During those years he was left almost alone by the educated classes, and yet, week after week, he perseveringly attended temperance meetings to encourage and to instruct the poor, who were anxious and grateful for such aid as would assist them to struggle against temptation. He did not limit his assistance to talking, but continued through life to expend on the temperance cause—by subscriptions to societies and by the circulation of temperance literature—sums of money considerably larger than the amount he had formerly expended on wine, &c.

As already stated, he hoped more for the improvement of the people from their own exertions than from the assistance given by indiscriminate charity; yet his own practice was not quite consistent, and during his daily walks he was in the habit of often giving alms, but it was a yielding to his heart rather than to his reason. He always feared the degrading effects of pauperism, and he regarded the Poor Law—introduced into Ireland in 1838—as a doubtful good. At that time he studied with attention the publications on the question—amongst others, the "Report of the English Commission of 1833," and Mr. Nicholl's Reports of three visits to Ireland in 1836-7-8, with recommendations in favour of the law.

A year or two later, December, 1840, he published a letter, suggesting a modification of the Poor Law,

so that no able-bodied man should receive relief without work, which should be furnished to all applicants, either on the public roads or otherwise, at not less than 1*s.* per day wage! He could not see that political economy and social policy taught us that it was a sound principle to support men without work, and unsound to make them work for their support! The rate of wage he suggested was then deemed so high that O'Connell told him it was Utopian![1] Indeed, on one occasion, when they were working together for some public purpose which required some mention of the average wage of Ireland, O'Connell said he did not believe it was 4*d.* per day, but that 6*d.* per day would be a safe estimate. The first sum was probably correct when the idle days of winter are considered.

The Rev. John Spratt, D.D., long known in connexion with many charitable institutions, had been a member of the first committee of the Hibernian Temperance Society (1832). He was the founder of the Cuffe-lane Total Abstinence Society, and there for many years James Haughton attended with his esteemed friend every Sunday evening; and the Catholic and Unitarian Christians worked together during life without dissension, second only to Father Mathew in amount of good done, and following his example

[1] The 1*s.* per day has been attained long since. This is not the place to discuss if this advance be due to the fall in value of precious metals, or to the stream of emigration—a stream which has continued from east to west since the earliest history of man; but every unprejudiced observer must acknowledge the great improvement in the material condition of the people of Ireland. Improved tenure of land, accompanied by improved tillage, would probably support a much larger population; but we *know* the fact that those who emigrated and those who are at home are better fed, better housed, better clothed, and better educated than were their fathers!

by calling meetings, in summer in the open air, and in winter in various halls both in Dublin and in other towns, to which they were frequently invited. It was at a monster meeting held by Father Mathew in Beresford-place, in 1840, that Father Spratt and James Haughton mutually agreed to devote themselves more energetically to the total abstinence cause. Of Father Mathew, the latter wrote in the *Bible Christian*, May, 1840 :—

> '. . . . He is winning the esteem of all who come in contact with him by his amiable manners and unassuming deportment. He is well fitted to carry forward the mission of peace and love.'

He concluded the letter by strong argument against so-called moderation, as injurious to health, and a dangerous temptation to lead the weak to their downfall.

About this time were commenced those weekly meetings, held for several years in a room of the Royal Exchange (now the City Hall). The leaders and chief subscribers were James Haughton, Richard Allen, Richard D. Webb, Thomas Webb, and James H. Webb; but whenever possible, they enlisted friends and passing strangers to speak and to deliver lectures. So numerous were the subjects discussed, that a jocose newspaper editor christened them the "Anti-everything-arians." The Press gave them assistance, and frequently published reasonably good reports of the speeches and questions discussed. The chief subjects were temperance, peace, anti-slavery, and British India.[1]

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[1] An association to promote reforms in British India had been founded, or re-organized, in London, in 1839. Lord Brougham, Thomas Clarkson, and other well-known anti-slavery names were on the committee.

In the *Transactions* of the "British and Foreign Institute" (inaugurated in 1843, his Royal Highness Prince Albert president), James Silk Buckingham, the founder and secretary, mentions those Royal Exchange meetings, and states that they were sustained for the most part by the exertions of the above-named gentlemen. And James and Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, who came to Europe as delegates to the great Anti-slavery Congress of 1840, in London, in a short sketch of their visit—*Three Months in Great Britain*—allude thus to Dublin :—

"The generous, warm-hearted hospitality extended to us during the week we remained in Dublin will long be remembered with pleasure. . . . . In company with our friend James Haughton we attended a meeting of the Temperance Society in the Exchange (Royal), which was large, and composed mostly of the poorer classes. The spirit manifested in promoting the object was cheering. Not many of the rich take active interest in this cause. James Haughton and a few others are honourable exceptions; they are unwearied in their labours to improve the condition of the people."

CHAPTER VII.

IN this year, 1840, he and Robert Ball, LL. D., well known as a naturalist and long honorary secretary of the Zoological Society, co-operating heartily, persuaded the Council to open the Gardens in the Phœnix Park at the charge for admission of one penny on Sunday after two o'clock—a change attended at that time with success, not only being a beneficial measure for the weak funds of the society, but most useful as a healthy and instructive recreation for the well-conducted people who are busily occupied during the week.[1]

In the same year he joined the Loyal National Repeal Association, founded by O'Connell in 1839, or re-founded from the Precursor Repeal Association of 1830. The fame of the meetings in the Corn Exchange and in the Conciliation Hall spread over the world, and although the agitation for Repeal, so vigorous for some years, was not successful, it, without doubt, materially influenced the legislative reforms of after years.

James Haughton, whenever opportunity arose, always endeavoured to urge his fellow-repealers to give the weight of their opinion against oppression abroad, as well as at home, and he unceasingly advo-

[1] In 1874 or 1875 the Council felt it necessary, in consequence of increased price of meat, wages, &c., to advance the charge to *2d.* They had previously raised the week-day charge from *6d.* to *1s.* Both changes have benefited the funds of the Society.

cated not only the right of, but also the sound constitutional policy of peaceful agitation. He ever continued to be a strong believer in the right of self-government, but after the year 1848 he looked on the agitation as a hopeless waste of time and energy, and on repeated occasions he called on his countrymen to unite cordially with the English Liberals, in order to obtain various measures of reform. The tendency of the Nationalist parties during the last days of O'Connell and after his death to threaten violence and bloodshed had no small effect in diminishing his hopes that the agitation for Repeal would continue beneficial for Ireland, or could be successful; although for a short time these hopes were partly restored in the year 1870.

In June, 1840, he went a second time to London as delegate of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, to the "World's Anti-Slavery Convention," called together by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The other Dublin delegates were well known in the cause of freedom—Daniel O'Connell, M.P.; Dr. R. R. Madden, the well-known traveller and author; William Torrens M'Cullagh (now Mr. Torrens, M.P.), and, as an American writer once described them, "the Allens, the Haughtons, the Webbs;" of the latter name three brothers took part in reform questions. At this convention he met, probably for the first time, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Dr. John Bowring (afterwards knighted and Governor of Hong-Kong); Joseph Brotherton, The Venerable Thomas Clarkson, Samuel Gurney, Rev. J. Angell James, Joseph Pease, M.P.; John Scoble, Joseph Sturge,[1] Colonel T. P. Thompson, an ardent

[1] He had already met Joseph Sturge and George Thompson in 1838.

Liberal and writer on political economy; the Hon. C. P. Villiers. And from America—J. G. Whittier, the poet; Dr. Norton S. Townshend, who was afterwards his guest when visiting the hospitals of Dublin, and with whom he kept up correspondence for many years; Henry B. Stanton and Mrs. Stanton; Gerritt Smith; Wendell Phillips, one of the first orators of the United States; James and Lucretia Mott; D. L. Child; James G. Birney, a Southern planter, who had freed all his slaves; George Bradburn; N. P. Rogers, Rev. Samuel May, and William Lloyd Garrison, who, in 1873, writes:—

"It was in the summer of 1840, at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London, that our acquaintance and friendship began, which time has only served to strengthen and intensify."

Of this great convention, Mr. Haughton wrote to the *Dublin Weekly Herald:*—

'LONDON, *23rd June*, 1840.

'It will not be unacceptable to your readers to hear from a deeply interested observer a hasty account of the World's Anti-Slavery Convention. It was composed of delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies in different parts of the world. Of 493 appointed, I believe 450 attended. We assembled in Freemasons' Hall on Friday, the 12th at ten o'clock, A. M., where we met daily up to Saturday; and the last two days in the Friends' Meeting House, Gracechurch-street. . . . The sittings were generally attended by nearly all the members, and a large number of ladies always favoured us with their presence. . . . Many of the members are men distinguished by talents and position in their own countries. . . . I cannot but think that such a body will

have great effect on public opinion in every part of the world, for I apprehend it is the first instance on record in the history of man when delegates from many nations of the earth assembled for the good and holy purpose of proclaiming to the world that it is sinful towards God, and a flagrant violation of every principle of right and justice, for man to hold his fellow-man in bondage.

'America was represented by a noble band, who have battled long in their own country for freedom, and who have been tried in the furnace of persecution. . . . Our West Indian possessions are represented by men who had also to endure much for the sacred cause, and have come to tell us of the happy results of emancipation in those colonies. We had coloured men to give us undoubted evidence that mind—the image of the beneficent Creator—has been imparted to all alike. The intelligent negro from Jamaica and the dark Haytian,[1] of manly appearance, were with us. Of France, I need only say that some of her sons, distinguished in her Senate and at her Bar, added weight to the cause of freedom by their presence.[2] England, Scotland, and Ireland, have also stood nobly forward. Hundreds of noble men, whose hearts beat warmly in behalf of the black man's rights, were found lifting up their voices to assert, by every moral, religious, and pacific means in their power, to break his chains at once and for ever. That veteran in the anti-slavery cause, Thomas Clarkson, has been enabled by a gracious Providence to appear among

[1] M. L'Instant fils, author of several works.

[2] M. C. Faure, M. Isambert, M. Lauré, M. de Boussois, M. Hippolyte de St. Antoine, M. Cordier.

us; he presided for a short time on the 12th inst.; he said "that he was the only survivor of the committee for abolition of the slave trade, of which he was the originator in 1787."

'. . . The American delegates are most anxious to work on the mind of their country, and they think this can be done effectually through the Press of Great Britain and Ireland. Our publications are read where their arguments are not listened to. Call, therefore, on your brethren of the Press to utter an indignant voice of reprobation, to utter loudly and constantly against the shameful and dishonest inconsistency of the American nation, holding in one hand their noble and magnificent Declaration of Independence, and in the other the lash saturated with the blood of their brothers. . . Let each of us try to mend ourselves, and to influence as many as we can in our circle, and the Great Father of the human race will bless our efforts. But Britons are still deeply dyed in the guilt of this horrid traffic. British capital and British subjects uphold it, to our dishonour, in many parts of the world, and we are all in some degree participators in this sinfulness by our use of the products of slave labour.'

Speaking at one of the meetings, and touching on the subject in the last paragraph of the above letter, and of a committee appointed to make inquiries about the sale of guns, handcuffs, &c., to slave-owners by British traders, he said :—

'If the committee arrive at an affirmative conclusion, they may suggest to the Convention the best mode of turning the information to a practical result. I fear that the mere expression of indigna-

tion will have little effect on the minds of those who are base enough to be engaged in the traffic. I hope some plan will be adopted of so bringing the matter to bear, that they will be induced to give up this shameful business.'

When writing from memory (in 1854) of this Convention, he added :—

'We had a glorious time of it. But the pleasure was somewhat marred at the time by the illiberal refusal by the Convention to admit to our deliberations some lady delegates from America, among whom was the amiable and highly-gifted Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia; she was with her excellent husband James Mott, Sarah Pugh, Abby Kimber, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the great leader of the Abolitionists. They arrived towards the close; but as the credentials of the ladies were dishonoured, the gentlemen declined taking their seats in the assembly; and the Abolitionists of England exhibited themselves to the world in a mean and despicable light, by refusing to yield an honoured place in their councils to women long known as zealous labourers in the field of human civilization.'

After his return home he was much occupied with anti-slavery correspondence, and also with public meetings, when some of the American delegates visited Dublin. Some unfair and ignorant attack seems to have been made on his friend William Lloyd Garrison, for he wrote as follows to the *Irish Friend* :—

'17*th October*, 1840.

'I had the pleasure to meet William Lloyd Garrison frequently during his short stay in Dublin, and

I can truly say that he struck me as one of the most right-minded men I ever met; and so far was he from endeavouring to press his peculiar opinions, that I and others of his acquaintances here always found it rather difficult to draw him out. I did not perceive the smallest disposition on his part to introduce the questions of "Woman's Rights," and "No Human Government," in connexion with his anti-slavery opinions. That his non-resistance principles are quite in accordance with the spirit of Christianity, I should imagine no Christian would deny. . . . . I do not envy the man who can quarrel with William Lloyd Garrison on account of any of the plans which he has promulgated for the improvement of mankind; as far as I know them, they are at least worthy of our respect.'

A few extracts are worthy of attention, from a letter commenting on the visit of a Unitarian clergyman to the Southern States:—

'*To the Editor of the "Bible Christian."*

'34, ECCLES-STREET,

'*Sunday evening, Aug.* 2, 1840.

'I believe that Unitarianism and Christianity, as we understand the words, are synonymous; and as no man who holds his brother in slavery can be a Christian, so no slaveholder can be a Unitarian Christian. . . . Mr. —— does not allude to slavery in his letter; . . . let us call on him, in earnest and affectionate terms, to announce the enmity of our blessed Saviour against the crime of holding our brother in bondage. . . . . At the late Anti-

[1] Afterwards 35, Nos. of houses having been changed.

slavery Convention, held in London, the important question was fully discussed, as to whether Christian Churches should keep in fellowship with slaveholders; and after full and deeply interesting debate, carried on by clergymen of various persuasions and numbers of our most talented members, it was unanimously resolved, that Christian fellowship should not be held with such men as long as they continued so polluted. . . . . I am bold to say, that the man who holds his brother in bondage cannot be a Christian; he neither "does justice, loves mercy, nor walks humbly before his God;" he robs his victim, he flogs his victim, and he debases the image of his Creator. . . . . Man can never be safely trusted with irresponsible power. In the case of the slaveholder, his whole authority is based on robbery and injustice. One man may be less cruel than another, but he only serves to throw a semblance of virtue and benevolence over a system of villainy and crime. . . . . One noble-minded man, Munroe Edwards, has lately set free 163 slaves, at a pecuniary loss of 120,000 dollars. America now presents to the world some of the noblest men who ever existed—God's real nobility—let us honour them in our hearts, and urge others "to go and do likewise."'[1]

Throughout this year he corresponded frequently with Joseph Sturge, O'Connell, Robert Hutton, and others, about the best means to influence the House of Commons against the threatened war to force the opium trade on the Chinese, but with no good effect, as the mercantile and British India interests were

[1] P. 48, J. G. Birney.

strong enough to persuade the country that our honour was engaged! as it too often, unfortunately, still is, against weak and half-civilized people. The following extract concluded a letter to O'Connell :—

'*29th April*, 1840.

'. . . . I entreat you to use your great, your deservedly great, influence in preventing any aggression on China. If we try to act the part of a bullying school-boy—who attacks his fellows because he thinks them weak, but who fears to say a harsh word to one as big as himself—I hope we shall be disappointed. We want to trade with the Chinese; they are quite willing to trade with us, if we agree to honest and fair terms. Your friend Joseph Sturge is much interested in this question.'

With the last-named he co-operated by his pen and by occasional lectures to endeavour, if possible, to mitigate the severity of the war. Of the many letters published, the following (written the next year) is selected as a clear expression of opinion against all war:—

'*To the Editor of the "Morning Register."*

'34, ECCLES-STREET,

'*9th April*, 1840.

'DEAR SIR,—A paper entitled "A Few Hints about the Army," and a short poem, headed "Rhymes for the People about Battle, Glory, and Murder," have been lately published in this city, and distributed freely, both here and in other parts of the United Kingdom. I am happy to say, that a second edition of *twelve thousand* copies is now in the press, and I expect they are but the precursors of hundreds of thousands of these advices to the people, which

will be speedily disseminated over the length and breadth of the land. These papers have excited a great deal of interest and much discussion, which cannot be matter of much surprise to those who have read them, and reflected on the tendency of their advice—so different from that which is almost universally inculcated in the world. I am only acquainted with one body of professing Christians who denounce war of every kind as *sinful*, and utterly at variance with the precepts of Christ. On reading the comments of the different newspapers on the papers I have alluded to, I have been not a little amazed at the earnestness, and sometimes the ingenuity, displayed to find out the motive which induced the writer or writers of these documents to give them forth to the world. Sectarianism, party feeling, and disloyalty, appear to be the only motives which have occurred to the minds of their critics. Now, it seems to me, that a simpler motive, and one more likely to be the true one, might readily be discovered, and that is, "Love to God and love to man." For my own part, I can say, with great truth, that my motive in distributing a pretty large number of them was purely a desire to spread peace principles abroad—to disseminate a principle which I have held, and openly supported, as long almost as I can remember myself—*that all war is anti-Christian—that a Christian should not, under any circumstances, deprive his fellow-creature of life.* I am told by some that it is wrong to talk to the PEOPLE in this way, that such *dangerous* doctrines should not be tolerated; but I hope these unworthy sentiments have no deep foundation in the public mind; that, however warlike the nation undoubtedly is, there yet is such a preponderance of humane and

Christian feeling abiding among us, that the men who promulgate the heavenly doctrine—"Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to men"—will meet with sympathy and support; but, whatever may be the result, if contumely or the sneers of the unthinking shall follow them, I trust and believe they will ever be supported in their virtuous resolves—

"Duty is ours,—consequences God's."

'I have been induced to make the foregoing remarks, from having read in *Chambers's Journal* a short account of the "Life of John of Vicenza."[1] Peace, perfect peace, and no war at all, was the practice of Christians in all ages of the Church.

'Yours, my dear Sir, faithfully,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.'

Although the following suggestion was not acted on by the "Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals," he was for many years a subscriber to the funds:—

'*4th September*, 1840.

'If it be the object of the Association to endeavour to put an end to the cruel practices of hunting, shooting, fishing, as well as to put a stop to inhuman treatment of our domestic animals, I shall be most happy to contribute my mite. I am always sorry to hear them designated as gentlemanly amusements, and I hope they will soon be considered as disgraceful sports as cock-fighting and bull-baiting now are.'

He was so fully occupied with private affairs and

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[1] "This Dominican friar began his career at Bologna in 1233, preaching the cessation of war and forgiveness of injuries."—HALLAM'S *Middle Ages*.

with various public duties and general correspondence, that he had to decline to undertake much new work which was pressed on him; but as a member of the Irish Temperance Union, he commenced this year, 1840, with the consent of Mr. Purdon, then governor of Richmond Prison, a new duty; and with others in turn, a weekly visit was made to speak to the prisoners on Temperance. He never allowed an opportunity of promoting this cause to pass by: Archbishop Whately and the Bishop of Norwich, having both spoken strongly of the good done by the movement, were in turn entreated to show the best of all examples, and to become total abstainers! He continued to pile up statistics; in a letter to the *Bible Christian* of January, 1841, he gives the following numbers.

'*November*, 1840.

'In my first letter, in your Number for March last, I stated the number of teetotallers in Ireland to be about 600,000. The progress of that glorious revolution in the habits of our people has been singularly blessed by the Almighty; our teetotal army now numbers more than three millions of adherents: Ireland may be said to be regenerated.'

In an early letter to a Dublin Paper (May, 1839), he had quoted Dr. Coombe's definition of moderation, 'when the pulse is not raised beyond healthy action;' after two years' study and reading, he wrote, in June, 1841:—

'. . . . Moderation, no one can define; science has declared it to be without sense or meaning when applied to alcoholic drinks; they are all poisonous, and should never be used by persons in health.'

CHAPTER VIII.

HE spoke occasionally, but not often, at the Repeal Association. In a private letter, August, 1841:

> '. . . . I find my Radical notions are known at a distance—yet I am no politician, in the usual sense of the term, for I hate all party-work, my efforts are for moral reform: political reforms would follow as a matter of course. I would instruct the people, and give all equal rights under the law, and I would have no fear of the results of doing simple justice.'

On several occasions he wrote to various members of the Association with reference to slavery and the ever-disputed question of accepting money and sympathy from slave-holders: with O'Connell—then (1841-42) Lord Mayor of Dublin under the new constitution for the Town Council after the Act of 1840—he had a good deal of communication on the subject. He alluded to a mistaken idea prevalent amongst some Abolitionists in America, that O'Connell was becoming lukewarm in the cause, but which mistake would be corrected by the Address, "from the people of Ireland to their countrymen in America," of which the most prominent line was "Liberty for all, of every Colour, Creed and Country," and the last line—"cling by the Abolitionists, and in America you will do honour to the name of Ireland." The Address was

drawn up by Richard D. Webb and James Haughton: a note by the latter stated:—

'. . . . it was signed by Daniel O'Connell, M. P. for the counties of Cork and Meath,[1] and Lord Mayor of Dublin; by Father Mathew, and by 60,000 Irish men and women; and sent out to America by Charles Lennox Remond, a coloured gentleman, in December 1841.—J. H.'

The two following letters show not only his constant desire that Irishmen should be true to their principles, but also his high opinion of O'Connell:—

'34, ECCLES-STREET,
'*1st October*, 1842.

'MY DEAR LORD MAYOR,

'. . . . I know you hate slavery; your whole life has been one continuous act of opposition to the iniquity in all its forms. Now is the critical moment for Ireland; we must either rise in the esteem or sink into the contempt of the good and the free-hearted in America. I conjure you to put an end to the unholy alliance between Irishmen and slave-dealers in America; you can do more to effect this great good than any other living man. I need not enlarge; my whole soul is with you in favour of human rights; I can in truth say, I long to see your renown increased by a continued glorious action to force their universal acknowledgment; but do not lose your moral power (the only power which can enable you to gain your object) by the acceptance of further sympathy or aid from American "soul-drivers." The work of your life will be

[1] Elected for both at a recent election, and had not then selected his constituency.

marred and destroyed by such an unholy contamination. With sentiments of regard which, I sometimes say, are only exceeded by your own near friends and relations,

'I am, yours respectfully,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.

'RT. HON. DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P.'

The next letter was written after one of O'Connell's noble anti-slavery speeches :—

'34, ECCLES-STREET,

'*5th August*, 1843.

'MY DEAR SIR,

'I have just read your fine speech of yesterday, with the greatest pleasure. It will do great good to the cause of freedom and humanity; but there is one matter on which I am sure you are mistaken. William Lloyd Garrison is, like yourself, "one of the best abused of living men," and one of the noblest of God's creatures. I know little, indeed nothing, of his religious opinions—with these I have nothing to do, but that he is a sincere Christian I fully believe; he has suffered, and he is still suffering, much in the cause of humanity; he is hated by those who oppress their fellow-men, and loved with deep intensity by his friends—another point of similarity between him and you. Do not think unkindly of this good man; he is possessed of every quality which must make you esteem him—gentleness, courage, disinterestedness, firmness—he would not quail before mortal man in any cause which he deemed right. Such men as O'Connell and Garrison should never speak of each other but in the language of kindness and respect. You are both

labouring to make men happy, and however great may be your differences on religious matters (and it is probable I differ widely from both), may you have a glorious reward for your labours.

'Your faithful friend,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.

'To ALDERMAN O'CONNELL, M.P.'

An extract from a note to a private friend will even more clearly illustrate his horror of slavery:—

'. . . . Will you say to your friend, from me, that if he be an Abolitionist, as he is a brother tee-totaller, I would welcome him heartily to my house. I could not tell you how I loathe a slave-holder, but I would not willingly injure one of them. . . . . If your friend be a free-souled American, a true supporter of their own glorious Declaration of Independence, bring him to my house to dinner to-morrow.'

It was his first acquaintance with the Rev. Mr. Dall, an American Unitarian clergyman, who, as an anti-slavery man, had attempted to reside in Mobile, but was compelled to retreat by the pro-slavery public sentiment. In after years they kept up some correspondence, when Mr. Dall[1] was a missionary in India, where he still follows his benevolent pursuits.

Free trade had never been a very popular question in Ireland, but public meetings had been occasionally held. In the year 1841, John Bright, when a young

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[1] "The Prince of Wales showed his appreciation of the work being done in India by the Rev. Mr. Dall (Unitarian), by giving him twice the money he gave the other schools in Calcutta."—*Unitarian Herald*, 4th August, 1876.

man, was James Haughton's guest, when visiting Ireland to promote free trade.

From a private letter of 26th December, 1841:—

'I was much gratified with the company of Mr. Bright; he is an intelligent man, and very enthusiastic in the pursuit of benevolent objects, both able and willing to give good reasons for the opinions he holds; he is an ardent free-trader, and advocate of freedom in every sense of the word, and to crown all, he is a teetotaller.'

On misrule and injustice in British India he often wrote and spoke. In the years 1842 and 1843 public attention was somewhat excited on this subject by the visit to London of Dwarkanath Tagore, a wealthy merchant, and also by the case of the Rajah of Sattara, who had been deprived of his principality by the ruling Company; his vakeel or agent, Rungo Bapogee, visited London, and much energy was devoted to obtain impartial parliamentary inquiry as to the justice of his cause, but with the usual result of the weak against the influential. The Dublin British India Committee was actively engaged at the time, and kept the subject constantly under notice of the public.

In August, 1843, Mr. Haughton was requested by the ratepayers to represent the Linen Hall ward in the Town Council, but he felt compelled to decline the honour, from inability to give up such time as he would deem necessary to fulfil municipal duties.

Peter Purcell, ever forward in good work, had originated the project of a testimonial to Father Mathew, and in January, 1843, a great meeting was held in the Theatre Royal, Hawkins-street. The Duke of Leinster was in the Chair; several peers, O'Connell, James Haughton, and other well-known

men, of all sects and all parties, were speakers on the occasion. Very many ways were suggested of honouring the man who, according to the *Freeman's Journal*, had induced 5,000,000 people to become teetotallers! but in a few months the suitable appropriation of the funds to pay debts became manifest, as will be related in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

IN this year, 1843, the Repeal agitation had attained to great proportions: the monster meetings had been held on the hill of Tara, and at various other places: O'Connell always spoke in favour of peace, and condemned all ideas of violence.

On the 24th July, James Haughton published a letter, urging the people to banish from their minds all ideas of physical force: he demands that it may be clearly understood that Ireland wants self-government, in order to carry out the enlightened principles of — perfect freedom, civil and religious, — perfect free trade, — that all taxation be direct, — and that constant employment should be offered to all who are willing to work. In a private letter:—

'*5th July*, 1843.

'. . . . There was an immense meeting of Repealers at Donnybrook on Sunday, and all went off peacefully. Since the people became teetotallers they can be brought together in multitudes without danger to the public peace. I wish everyone in Ireland was a teetotaller. I attended the Juvenile Association on Monday evening, and read for them out of "A Kiss for a Blow,"[1] and talked

[1] By H. C. Wright, America.

to them for about an hour. I was alone on the platform most of the evening.'

In another letter, 13th August:—

'. . . . I have had several interesting communications from America. The pro-slavery party there are in a great rage in consequence of O'Connell's recent denunciations of their horrid system, and our anti-slavery friends are greatly rejoiced.[1] My valued friend O'Connell has nobly sustained his high character; he is a fine fellow; his enemies, who know not how to imitate his virtues, have only eyes to see his faults: these like spots on the sun are blemishes, but they are lost in the brightness of his many good qualities.' . . . . Captain Claridge, the celebrated lecturer on hydropathy has been here . . . . We have formed a society to inquire into the truths of the system. . . . . I hear frequently of the good effects of the cold water cure. I hope it will tend to spread the teetotal cause.'

The monster Repeal meeting announced to be held at Clontarf near Dublin, on Sunday, October 8th, 1843, was forbidden by proclamation, issued from the Castle of Dublin late on Saturday, the 7th,[2] and effectual means were taken to enforce the decision of the Government, by a large display of military force: but the small army in full panoply of war took their exercise to Clontarf amidst a quiet crowd of the citizens of Dublin. By enormous exertions during Saturday night and Sunday morning, the Repeal leaders, aided by the clergy, had met the people travelling from distant districts, and had persuaded them to return home.

If the peace principles of James Haughton had

[1] Page 60.

[2] Thom's Directory.

not been so well known, and his character as a moral reformer so thoroughly appreciated, he might have been one of those prosecuted for misdemeanor, in consequence of an indignant letter which he wrote, 14th of October, 1843, of which some few extracts will suffice :—

'*To the Repeal Association.*

'. . . . The working out of a great principle is confided to us; Irishmen are to prove whether moral or physical forces are the best agencies for the preservation of man's happiness. . . . . I claim your kind indulgence in consideration of the solemn importance of the subject, and as a peaceful citizen several years known to you as the opponent of war, offensive and defensive. The melancholy, and in my mind wicked, display of physical force on Sunday last induces me to express my great admiration at the conduct of the people, and to express the sensations of horror which have often crossed my mind, at the bloody tragedy which might have terminated that day. . . . . The people acted well. . . . . But how did our rulers act? Is their conduct entitled to praise and honour? . . . . The question arises, were they—our rulers—guilty of treason to the British Constitution? Could they claim any authority for their acts? . . . . I believe the entire proceeding was in open violation of our rights, and it seems to me that all parties should protest against it. If *unarmed* men may not meet in peace, and in any numbers, and for any lawful purpose, we live under a despotism, not under a constitution.'

He concludes, entreating them as Christians, and as men of policy, to adhere to moral force :—

'. . . . Remember "that which is morally wrong cannot be politically right." '

Further comment on the conduct of the Government of that day is not now necessary; but it may be fairly assumed that no such display of threatened slaughter could now take place, unless in case of actual outbreak or armed rebellion. In thirty years there has been much moral progress in favour of popular rights, and the Liberals of the United Kingdom are sufficiently strong and enlightened to oppose mere party rule, so that just and reasonable legislation is advancing surely, though somewhat slowly. Whatever may have been the intentions of the authorities with regard to the people, against the leaders the course of action was decided: on the 14th of October, 1843,[1] informations for "Misdemeanor" were lodged against Daniel O'Connell, M.P.; John O'Connell, M.P; Rev. Thomas Tierney, Rev. Peter James Tyrrell, Richard Barrett, Charles Gavan Duffy,[2] John Gray, M.D.;[3] Thomas M. Ray, Thomas Steele. On the 14th of November, proceedings were commenced; on the 12th of February, 1844, there was a verdict of "guilty:" on the 30th of May, they were imprisoned in Richmond Bridewell, but were liberated on the 6th of September of same year by a reversal of judgment on appeal to the House of Lords. Thus, O'Connell's repeated assertion, that he always kept within the limits of constitutional agitation, was reverified, but at the cost of several months' confinement.

During the imprisonment, which was as mild and luxurious as it could be to men deprived of liberty,

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[1] Thom's Directory. [2] Then of the *Nation*; knighted, 1873.

[3] Of the *Freeman's Journal*, afterwards Sir John, and until his death an active member of the House of Commons, and of the Dublin Corporation.

there were frequent visits from admirers and friends, amongst whom James Haughton was often seen, helping to encourage them through the dull moments which must have been often wearisome to men long accustomed to such active political life: and the questions in which he took especial interest—peace, anti-slavery, temperance—were repeatedly discussed within the walls of Richmond Prison.

The following extracts from private letters are selected from many similar:—

'31*st May*, 1844.

'. . . . My valued friend, O'Connell, with some of his brother patriots, are now in prison. The advocate of universal liberty is deprived of his freedom, because of his love of his country: he may have been in some instances unwise in his advocacy of her rights, but, take him all in all, he is a great and noble man, and his enemies will gain nothing by their persecution of him.'

Again:—

'. . . . Some folks are now exclaiming against agitation: it is to the moral world what the wind is to the physical world—indispensable to our healthy existence.'

On 9th of June, 1844:—

'. . . . I went to see my friend O'Connell, and his co-patriots: they were all in good spirits. The prison is that I visit so frequently;[1] it is a fine airy place and has two large gardens, so that it is as cheerful as a jail could be. Great numbers visit the prisoners—indeed the Government has given them a triumph; it is trying to be in prison, but in other respects it is no punishment to these men; their country will honour them for it.'

[1] Page 57.

On the day of liberation he was present to offer congratulations and received all their autographs.

In the previous year, 1843, he had some correspondence on the question of Federalism with Joseph Sturge, who came to Ireland partly to discuss that question with O'Connell: but the question did not at that time become of any importance.

The Mathew Testimonial Fund, started under such good auspices in January, 1843,[1] seems to have dragged on slowly for more than a year: the working committee gradually dwindling in numbers, and left to Peter Purcell, James Haughton, and a few others. The sum collected was not large, and was ultimately voted at a general meeting on 2nd December, 1844, to the "Mathew Relief Fund," and remitted to Father Mathew, whose pecuniary difficulties had been announced to the public by the Rev. Thomas Hincks, in the month of October.

Mr. Haughton, with his usual energy, succeeded in starting a good committee, and the following resolutions were passed at an early meeting:—

"FATHER MATHEW.

"At a meeting held on Friday last at 4, College-green, 30th October, 1844,

"His Grace the DUKE OF LEINSTER in the Chair,

the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"Resolved—That it is advisable to propose to the people of the United Kingdom to raise by public subscription a sum of at least £20,000, a sufficient amount of which should, in the first place, be appropriated to the liquidation of Father Mathew's debts, and the balance applied either in the purchase of an annuity, or in any other way that might be deemed more advisable, for the purpose of securing Father Mathew an annual income to enable him to pursue his useful labours during the remainder of his life uninterrupted by pecuniary embarrassments.

"That the following noblemen and gentlemen do form a committee to carry the foregoing resolution into effect:—The Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Devon, the Earl of Wicklow, the Earl of Lucan, Lord Cloncurry, Right

[1] Page 62.

Hon. A. R. Blake, Right Hon. R. D. Pigot, the Provost of Trinity College, the Solicitor-General, Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; Peter Purcell, Esq.; Maurice O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees, Bart., Sir Arthur Clarke, James Haughton, Esq.; Pierce Mahony, Esq.; Robert R. Guinness, Esq.; Richard D. Webb, Esq.; John Classon, Esq.; Francis B. Haly, Esq.; Very Rev. Archdeacon Hamilton, Alderman Joseph Boyce, Sir G. Whitford, and J. Perry.

"That the following noblemen and gentlemen be appointed Trustees, in whose names all moneys shall be lodged in the Bank of Ireland:—The Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Devon, the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; the Right Hon. A. R. Blake, Robert Rundal Guinness, Esq., and James Haughton, Esq.

"James Haughton, Esq., as Honorary Secretary, will receive subscriptions, and answer all communications addressed to him at 28, City-quay, Dublin.

"That the Banks throughout the United Kingdom be requested to receive subscriptions, and transmit same to the Bank of Ireland, Dublin, to the credit of the Trustees of 'Mathew Relief Fund.'

"LEINSTER, *Chairman*,
"JAMES HAUGHTON, *Hon. Sec.*"

A month later, in allusion to this Relief fund, he wrote in a private letter, 24th November, 1844:—

> '. . . . There has been a good deal of money raised for Father Mathew, but owing to some difficulties which have been thrown in the way of the Dublin committee by Father Mathew himself and some of his friends in Cork, I fear the large sum we hoped to obtain will not be raised. This I shall much regret, for there is no man to whom the country is more indebted for benefits actually conferred.'

His esteem for the man, his gratitude for the great good done for Ireland, and his confidence in his integrity and complete ignorance about money affairs, all combined to make him continue to be his steadfast friend: he managed to keep together a moderate committee, and even brought back some who seemed to be at first much dissatisfied.[1] They met occasion-

[1] Lord Cloncurry wrote in one of his notes to Mr. Haughton that he looked on Father Mathew "as a mere child in mundane affairs."

ally at his house in Eccles-street, and a considerable amount was collected and remitted directly to Father Mathew, who was at length relieved from his difficulties by sums sent to himself from America and England as well as from all parts of Ireland.

The Great Southern and Western Railway was commenced in 1844: and on the occasion of the turning of the first sod, on the 30th of December, at Adamstown Castle near Lucan, he managed to take a text for a short letter on temperance, and mentioned the fact, and advised all to follow the good example, that His Grace the Duke of Leinster drank the toast wishing success to the undertaking with water, not wine!

He was steadily extending his correspondence both in England and America, and had his letters published frequently in newspapers of both countries. On the question of anti-slavery he had a clearly expressed difference of opinion with the Anti-Corn-Law League, who had received, with unnecessary expressions of respect, well-known slave-holders from the Southern States, because they came as free-traders. He maintained that trade in slaves and in the work of slaves can never be free trade—'a slave-holder who advocates free trade must mean trade in men!' Letters which he received in 1845 from Mr. Paulten, George Wilson, Richard Cobden,[1] and John Bright, contained the usual strong reasoning in favour of the course pursued by the League. They alluded to the impossibility of preventing trade in the products of slave labour, indirectly and secretly, if not openly: their reasons for the friendly reception of slave-holders are not so strong, and individually they all expressed strong dislike to slavery; at that time free trade in

[1] In 1843 he and Mr. Cobden had corresponded on same subject.

corn was the great question with them, and they could not see any other of like importance until that great victory was won.

Having sent to O'Connell a recent work on Capital Punishment by the Rev. Charles Spears, he received the following expression of opinion on that question, and also strong anti-slavery sentiments, of which O'Connell always was an uncompromising advocate:—

"MERRION-SQUARE, *4th Feb.* 1845.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I beg your pardon for not having sooner acknowledged your kindness in sending me Mr. Charles Spears' admirable work on the Abolition of the Punishment of Death. May I beg of you when you write to that gentleman, to present him my respects, and to assure him of my gratitude for his kind present of that work, which I admire very much. There may be some shades of difference between him and me, on some of the principles enunciated in his work,—none at all upon the practical abolition of the punishment of death, totally and without reserve. With respect to the principles of President Tyler, on the subject of negro slavery, I am as abhorrent of them as ever I was; indeed if it was possible to increase my contemptuous disgust of slave-owners and the advocates of slavery, my sentiments are more intense now than ever they were, and I will avail myself of the first practical opportunity of giving utterance to them, especially in connexion with the horrible project of annexing Texas to the United States. But at the present moment the public mind is so engrossed here by other topics of local interest, that an anti-slavery speech would excite no such attention as it ought. I will, however, avail myself of the first favourable occasion to express my indignation on the subject, so as to give my sentiments circulation in America.

"Believe me to be,

"Very faithfully yours,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL.

"To JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ.,
"35, *Eccles-street.*"

CHAPTER X.

IN the summer of 1846 he went to London as one of the delegates from Dublin to the "World's Temperance Convention:" about three hundred delegates from various places met daily at the "City of London Literary Institute," Aldersgate-street: on the motion of Joseph Sturge, the Vice-presidents named were, Dr. Beecher, Dr. Cox, Rev. W. Reid, James Haughton, Laurence Heyworth,—and the Secretaries, Thomas Beggs, James Haughton, Edward Chrimes.

There were many American delegates, and to his heartfelt satisfaction he again met his friends William Lloyd Garrison and Henry C. Wright: he also then made acquaintance with Elihu Burritt, the well-known advocate of universal peace, and an energetic promoter of the Ocean penny-postage, to which reform Mr. Haughton gave his cordial support. Mr. Burritt also organized, this year, 1846, a "League of Universal Brotherhood;" a few of the best-known names were Joseph Sturge, James Haughton, James Silk Buckingham, Charles Gilpin: it may be regarded as one of the earliest movements to promote arbitration instead of war.

At this Convention he was much engaged on committees, but he did not take up much time with long speeches: the following short extract is from the authorized report by Thomas Beggs. Mr. Haughton said:-

'For several years he had adopted the plan of writing occasional articles on temperance for the Dublin papers, and getting them re-printed as tracts, and circulated by thousands. The cause in Ireland was almost entirely in the hands of the poor, and supported by them.'

At the concluding meeting, held in Covent Garden Theatre, Frederic Douglas, an escaped slave, and since known as a man of considerable talent in the United States, was one of the speakers; also the veteran reformer, James Silk Buckingham, who had been one of the earliest advocates of total abstinence, and on several other questions was intimately allied with James Haughton.

The following extract is from some notes (written in 1854):—

'The Convention was largely attended; many delegates came from America. Many addresses of a stirring character were delivered, and resolutions passed condemnatory of the traffic in and the use of intoxicating drinks. One resolution denouncing the traffic as immoral, which I introduced, caused an animated discussion, and considerable opposition, but it was carried by a great majority; I was ably seconded by the Rev. Mr. Solly and Mr. James Teare. We had an immense public meeting in Covent Garden Theatre. This Convention exercised a salutary influence, and tended largely to promote an interest in teetotalism.'

At the seventh annual meeting, 1846, of the Protestant Total Abstinence Society, held in Whitefriars-street, Dublin, as an answer to some sectarian and ignorant accusations against the promoters of total abstinence—

'REV. DR. URWICK, President.

'James Haughton moved the resolution—That we do not receive total abstinence as a substitute for, or in any way inimical to the Gospel, but regard it as an auxiliary in preparing the way for the spread of Christianity,[1] and as such well worthy of adoption by the community at large.'

Before he went to London, the "Oregon question," between the United Kingdom and the United States, had stimulated the Peace Society to publish the following address:—

"The Committee of the Hibernian Peace Society respectfully request your early attention to the following address, and your zealous co-operation in carrying their object into effect. The question of peace or war with America is of deep importance to every member of the community. To the religious professor we would say, it is your bounden duty to inculcate the doctrine of 'Peace on earth, and good will to all men.' To the possessors of property we appeal, on the ground that war renders property insecure. To the merchant and trader we say, war is always injurious to your interests; a war with America would strike a blow at your commercial pursuits from which they would probably not recover for many years. From the poor man we claim assistance. War is the scourge of the poor; they are the victims, who are swept off by thousands and millions to glut the appetite of war.

"To all we appeal as men and Christians, and we ask all to unite with us, and with each other, in sending across the wide waters a message of peace, of love, and good will to our American brethren.

"JAMES HAUGHTON,
"RICHARD D. WEBB, } *Secretaries.*

"DUBLIN, *22nd April*, 1846.

"OFFICE, ANGLESEA-STREET, corner of COPE-STREET."

The potato blight which appeared in 1845, causing then some distress, and in 1846 the total destruction of that crop, together with an otherwise deficient

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[1] The feeling of real Christianity enabled him to work equally with Catholics and with Protestants to promote reforms.

harvest,[1] were speedily followed by the awful famines and fevers of 1846,-7,-8, which rapidly (but too slowly to meet the pressing need) called to the aid of poor Ireland the benevolence of the civilized world. England and America poured forth their contributions of money, food, and clothes with lavish hands. Government supplied money to buy food, gave money for public works, lent ships to carry grain, and even yielded so far to public outcry as to purchase food abroad on public account.[2] Poor Relief Bills were speedily voted, and at length our statesmen were reluctantly compelled to admit grain free of duty!

Sir Robert Peel, sacrificing old associations and prejudices to his sense of right, again proved himself to be one of our great statesmen; and the Anti-Corn-Law[3] agitation was practically brought to a close by the famine which necessitated the abolition of protective duties in 1846. As in most of our reforms, the change was not quite decided for some time; and even when the measure of free trade was passed, a nominal duty of 1*s.* per quarter was retained until the year 1869,[4] when that tax was abolished by Mr. Gladstone's Government, in which John Bright was a Cabinet Minister.

Throughout Ireland, Relief Committees were everywhere formed to collect money and to distribute food; all classes and all sects came forward with liberal

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[1] "Transactions of Relief Committee, Society of Friends."

[2] A doubtful policy; if a Government, at time of dire need, *can* supply *all* the food required, let it be done without hesitation, otherwise interference must do harm; it manifestly checks private importation, from dread of Government competition raising prices abroad, and lowering prices at home!

[3] James Haughton had been subscriber to the League from beginning.

[4] The amount of duty for year ending 31st March, 1869, was £897,930.

donations; and it must be ever remembered that those who were generous voluntarily were also heavy sufferers from enormously increased poor rates,[1] loss of rents, and decreased trade. All honour is especially due to the clergy of all persuasions, who struggled manfully during those years, undergoing severe privations, and boldly facing the deadly fever.

During these evil times, James Haughton was not backward; he gave freely, not only to the temporary Relief Committees, but also increased all subscriptions to old charitable institutions. He was busy with his pen, suggesting plans both to meet the immediate need, and to improve the permanent condition of the people; he advocated the immediate shutting up[2] of all breweries and distilleries as the most rapid and certain means of "saving from destruction sixty millions bushels of grain," the estimated quantity annually so consumed; but even in that year he had not yet decidedly accepted the principle of permanent prohibition, and still expressed his preference for voluntary abstinence—now doubly needed, to save food, and to avoid evil. He demanded that employment should be at once given to all seeking it; he had already more than once suggested a minimum rate of wages, and he again brought forward the same idea as a plan preferable to idle maintenance of the able-bodied in poor-houses![3] He touched frequently on the relations between landlords and tenants as a question of the greatest importance for the future

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[1] In some Unions the rate struck exceeded the annual valuation of the properties.

[2] This opinion was largely shared by many men in no way connected with temperance societies, who believed that Ireland was at that time in the same unforeseen need as a besieged town or a wrecked ship.

[3] Page 43.

prosperity of Ireland. His opinions were much influenced by his love of home, and by his love of his native place; and he believed that these sentiments were universal; when re-publishing a farmer's letter he quotes as a text:—

> "The land that I hold on your honor's estate
> Is the land that my forefathers tilled;"

and he argued, that if a landowner was allowed to love the property descended to him from his ancestors, a tenant might be permitted to feel attachment for the "land tilled by his forefathers;" he saw clearly that abstract theories as to the absolute rights of property must give way in favour of the best public policy, based on justice to all.

He had frequently, in correspondence with the Repeal Association and the Anti-Corn Law League, protested against accepting money from slave-holders; he held the same opinion as to the funds sent to our Irish Relief Committees from the Southern States of America; an extract from a letter (published a year later in the "American Anti-Slavery Standard") contains some of his reasons:—

'*25th November*, 1847.

'The American people have evinced a noble sympathy with us in our sore distress. Your generous contributions to aid in saving our people from starvation have called forth the liveliest emotions of gratitude in the Irish heart. Yet, will you think it strange, when I tell you I regret its manifestations in a pecuniary way, for I fear it has to a great extent destroyed the Irish feeling of abhorrence for slavery as it exists in your country? Our ardent patriots, who hate England with a cordial hatred, affect a great anxiety for American sympathy, and

they are quite regardless whether the sympathy comes from slaveholders or the lovers of freedom amongst you. They know that there is a jealous feeling between England and America, and they foment that jealousy to the utmost of their power; this is the secret for their motive in giving a wrong direction to Irish feeling on the subject of slavery in America. The same party that lauded to the skies your benevolence, whether it proceeded from true men or "soul drivers" among you, received with coldness and disdain the equally munificent donations sent from England. I deeply regret being forced to say that I fear the moral sentiment of my country has received severe injury from the reception of bloodstained contributions from American slave-holders. In conjunction with a few others, I was in the habit of lecturing here on American slavery,[1] and these lectures were always well received; now, I do not think any of us would be listened to by a Dublin audience. If your slaveholders laid a plan to purchase Irish voices in their favour, both at home and abroad, they could not have succeeded more effectually than they have done. The mischief has been effected; we must only hope that the progress of right opinions will set us right again, one day or other. You may say that Irish anti-slavery zeal was not very warm, or it would not have been so easily cooled. I do not believe there was any deep feeling on the subject among our people. Yet there was, and there is, a general sentiment of abhorrence of man-stealing or woman-whipping, which might easily have been ripened into a deeper feeling if our public men did not think more of American sympathy, for political purposes, than of the rights

[1] Page 44.

of humanity. While O'Connell lived he was true to the cause of the slave; there is not now a popular public man among us who cares a fig about the slave, or who would risk his popularity by standing out manfully against his oppressor; I made the attempt more than once, and I was foiled.[1] Your bloodstained dollars have been accepted, and the man-stealer may now walk unrebuked amongst us.'

It will be frequently observed that his own strong national feelings did not blind him to Irish inconsistencies; he never sought after popular favour by false flattery, or holding back well-merited blame; he could not say, "My country, right or wrong."

On this question, of accepting money from slaveholders or from other sources deemed immoral, there was much difference of opinion, even amongst thoroughgoing Abolitionists and other reformers.

In the autumn of 1846 the Repeal agitation—which had not been gaining real strength since the State trials of 1843–4, although many new adherents had joined the Association—met with a severe blow by the secession, or as some called it expulsion, of the Young Ireland party from Conciliation Hall in Dublin.

Whether O'Connell acted merely as a wise constitutional leader to prevent illegal allusions to physical force, or, that he feared lest the Repeal cause would be otherwise weakened by internal dissensions, there can be but little doubt that the agitation never recovered its early vigour, although kept alive for some years after by two parties—Old and Young Ireland!

When the first serious dissensions arose, James

[1] Page 85, and Appendix.

Haughton was in London, and had sent thence, with his subscription to the Repeal Association, a letter repeating his well-known moral force opinions, early in the month of September, 1846: in same month, on his return to Dublin, he wrote, before the 10th, to the committee of management, to express his regret at the

> '. . . . expulsion of the Young Ireland party as not only calculated to destroy our hopes of Repeal of the Union, but to strike a blow at that true freedom and manly independence which we should desire to see universally diffused.'

He entreated the Association to retrace its steps, and continued:—

> '. . . . It is hardly needful for me to say that I entirely disapprove of the warlike temper of the Young Ireland party, and that I regret and altogether repudiate the tone of defiance so frequently apparent in their organ, the "Nation," but there is a manliness about the men and an independence in that journal which must command respect. Besides, I do not think the Old Ireland party are so guiltless respecting the matter of physical force, or the inculcation of hostile feeling, as to be warranted in visiting with severe censure their young and enthusiastic opponents.'

The above letter was not read at the next meeting of the Association, on the plea of not re-opening the subject: he then wrote to Mr. T. M. Ray, the secretary, on 11th September, that he felt obliged

> '. . . . reluctantly to withdraw from a society whose committee of management appear to have acted in opposition to our principle of association . . . . I fondly hoped it would ever be the nurse of freedom and the freest discussion, and I see with regret that it

has attempted to crush opponents who have not, as far as I can judge, exceeded the limits of fair controversy, or broken through any of the rules of the Association.'

On the 15th he again published a letter, in which he expressed the opinion, that, even if the chairman of the day should permit physical force[1] speeches in the Hall, yet that, the large majority being opposed to it, therefore the individual speaker alone, and not the Association, would become amenable to the law. He concluded:—

'. . . . The gentlemen who have been expelled deny that they introduced this question into our Hall, and in the letters of some of them I have seen full acknowledgment of their adherence to the rule, that Repeal of the Union was only to be sought for by peaceful, moral, and lawful means.'

He much regretted having to separate from O'Connell, whom he always respected as an honest politician and an ardent lover of freedom at home and abroad: but he soon discovered how correct was the judgment of the great veteran leader, as to the illegal or treasonable ideas of unconstitutional resort to arms, which prevailed amongst the seceders. On the 2nd of December, 1846, he spoke at their first public meeting: he expressed his sorrow at finding himself opposed in some measure to O'Connell, to whom Ireland owed so much: alluding to the question of physical force, he observed that, however much it might have influenced the separation, yet the alliance of Old Ireland with the Whigs was also an important cause of difference, as Young Ireland was most hostile to that alliance.

[1] Constitutional agitation only, was a law of the Old Repeal Association.

He reiterates his peace principles, mentioned how O'Connell had always been ready to work with the political party which might be most willing to pass good measures, and concluded:—

> '. . . . My friends, we owe much to O'Connell: he has effected great and good things for Ireland; one of them which has not been mentioned I will now bring to your minds: he has taught Irishmen to think for themselves [cheers]. I do hope this great meeting will satisfy him that he has made a wrong move, and will induce him to retrace his steps. I almost believe such result will follow: and if a cordial reconciliation take place, no man will rejoice more heartily than myself.'

The day after this meeting he received a letter marked not to be published, from a well-known man, asking or almost entreating him to step forward as a friend of both parties to promote reconciliation: and in consequence, he wrote to the "Committee of Dublin Repealers" [1]:—

> '. . . . The noble meeting on Wednesday was such a demonstration in your favour, that you can afford to act with magnanimity.'

As it was a pressing question requiring immediate consideration, he sketched 'A basis of re-union between Old Ireland and Young Ireland parties,' of which the following were the most important suggestions:—

> '. . . . A full and explicit declaration on the part of the Association, expressed in the most solemn and decided language, that no means should ever be resorted to by the Association for the attainment of its object, but such as were of

[1] Young Ireland.

a peaceful and a constitutional or lawful character. . . . . An undertaking that no coalition with an English Government, whether Whig or Tory, should be entered into; but neither on this subject or any other, should the Association interfere with individual opinion or action.'

He also alluded to a more open and broader system of management, and the exclusion of religious topics. On the 15th of December, he wrote as follows :—

'COMMITTEE ROOMS, NATION OFFICE.

'MY DEAR MR. O'CONNELL,

'I am requested to inform you, that at a meeting of the Seceders held this day, the following gentlemen—Mr. Duffy, Mr. Dillon, Mr. O'Gorman, and myself, were appointed as a deputation to wait upon you and represent the feelings of the meeting; we shall be glad if you can appoint any hour this day to meet us.

'Yours faithfully,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.

'DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ., M. P.'

The deputation met Mr. O'Connell at his own house, but the reconciliation was not effected; for various reasons the discordant spirits could not work together, and at a meeting in the Rotunda on 13th January, 1847, the "Irish Confederation" was publicly formed. James Haughton was one of the Council[1] of forty, but he could not long remain with them: while protesting against oppression in Ireland, he could in no way aid or sanction oppression in other lands. The immediate cause of his withdrawal from

[1] Some of the best known were Wm. Smith O'Brien, John B. Dillon, John E. Pigott, John Mitchell, Charles Gavan Duffy, Richard O'Gorman, John Shea Lawlor, Thomas Darcy M'Ghee, &c.

the Confederation was the illiberal and uncourteous conduct of a meeting at which he was chairman. He felt it to be his duty to object to an address to a slave-holding President of the United States: he considered such an address to be

> '. . . . deeply injurious to the progress of my country, and directly tending to demoralize our people. . . . . There is not one word, in that highly laudatory address, condemnatory of slavery, although addressed to a well-known supporter of that system which ranks human beings with beasts.'[1]

The meeting refused to hear the conclusion of his speech condemning slavery in America;[2] the council were more enlightened, but on consideration he decided to retire, not only for the reasons above mentioned but also at the same time expressing his dissent from the too warlike tone of many of the speakers at several meetings, and the needless hostility expressed against Englishmen, of whom a large liberal party were working hard for popular rights in which Ireland would share equally with England.

Within a few weeks he heard with deep sorrow of the death of our great countryman. O'Connell died at Genoa, 15th May, 1847, on his journey to Rome: born 6th August, 1775, at Carhen (the same year the first skirmish of the American Revolution took place at Lexington, 19th April), amidst the

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[1] From a letter after the meeting.

[2] This inconsistency is not uncommon amongst men. Those who seceded from Conciliation Hall, because not allowed to speak freely, objected to hear their own chairman speak against slavery; and yet the same meeting passed resolutions in favour of Poland, and condemning the despots who had aided Austria to incorporate Cracow !*

* See Appendix.

mountains of Kerry, he was before the world for forty-seven years, almost a king, and more than a king for part of that time. His first public speech was against the Union, in 1820; he founded the Catholic Association, 1823; he was elected for Clare in 1828; and the Catholic Relief Bill, generally called Catholic Emancipation, was passed in 1829.

James Haughton—twenty years his junior—watched the progress of O'Connell with much attention; they worked together for many years to promote social and political reforms, and perhaps few men could more impartially appreciate the great Irishman who stood forward so boldly and so successfully for the rights of man. Mr. Haughton, differing from him on many essential questions, had the sound judgment to weigh the good deeds against the faults of one so tempted by the dangers of political life, and to esteem highly the man who was ever steadfast to principles of real freedom.

He became a Vegetarian about the latter end of the year 1846, and never returned to the use of animal food: he was influenced both by dislike to the torture and slaughter of animals, and also on grounds of health. On this subject he wrote often, and carried on discussions for many years: he was fully convinced that man is not a carnivorous animal, and, judging from his own experience and his reading, he maintained that men would gain health by giving up the use of flesh, and that the wealth of the community would be largely increased, as the earth would supply vegetable and farinaceous food to support a much greater population at less cost, all which opinions he supported by statistics. He was president of the Vegetarian Society of the United Kingdom for two or three years before his death.

CHAPTER XI.

HE was one of the first members of the Council of the Statistical Society of Dublin (originated by W. Neilson Hancock, LL. D, in 1847): in after years the Council breakfasts were very frequent at his house. He rarely missed any of the meetings, and when not reading a paper was generally the first to initiate a useful discussion on the subject of the evening: he contributed (according to an index prepared in 1872) the largest number of papers read before the Society up to that time, with one exception. His chief subjects were Crime, Land, Taxation, Slavery, and Temperance; he also read papers on the West Indies, Co-operation, the Suffrage, Poor-Laws, the Working Classes, &c.

This year he published a good pamphlet in answer to an anonymous one entitled "Slavery not Immoral": his title was "Slavery Immoral," and beneath,

> "Mark you this, Bassanio,
> The devil can quote Scripture for his purpose."
> *Merchant of Venice.*

His concluding paragraph is decisive and clear:—

> 'Do not suppose I mistake your argument. I know that you have written about an abstraction ("I am writing of slavery in the abstract") which is just as real as the will-o'-the-wisp. I won't hunt

such a shadow. . . . . At what remote period of the history of the human race is slavery likely to be abolished, if we are to consider man-stealing a moral and virtuous act, and that men may practise it and continue to be Christians?'

The popular outbreaks in Europe in the year 1848, for a short time successful but afterwards repressed by military power, had stirred up the periodic panic in the United Kingdom to increase our army and navy. The Hibernian Peace Society were in frequent correspondence with Joseph Sturge and others, to attempt to counteract the war feeling; and James Haughton drew out a series of resolutions to be submitted to the Peace Conventions held early in the year in London, and in the autumn in Brussels, but he did not attend at either.

Government had decided on the most vigorous suppression of the Young Ireland agitation: John Mitchell was convicted of treason-felony, and transported to Bermuda; Dublin was proclaimed, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended;[1] William Smith O'Brien's attempt at rebellion at Ballingary, County Tipperary, failed almost before it was extensively heard of. The trial and conviction of John Martin[2] and J. K. Doherty, for felonious publication, quickly followed, and they were sentenced to ten years' transportation.[3] William Smith O'Brien, Patrick O'Donohoe, Thomas Francis Meagher, and T. B. M'Manus were found guilty of high treason, at a special Commission, and were sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to transportation.

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[1] Thom's Directory.

[2] M. P. for Meath, from 1871 until his death in 1875.

[3] Not then abolished.

James Haughton, when sending a subscription for a fund raised to defend the prisoners, repeated his often stated opinion that it was hopeless to attempt to obtain Repeal of the Union by other than peaceful and constitutional means: and later the same year, 1848, his answer to Lord William Fitzgerald, chairman of a "Society for obtaining the periodical sittings of the Imperial Parliament in Dublin for transacting Irish business," indicates that, whilst retaining his national feelings, he now clearly saw how much better the intellect and the energy of Irishmen might be employed in co-operating with English Liberals to attain practicable reforms, than in vain efforts to gain what had so signally failed, both under the leaderships of the constitutional and of the physical force Repealers:—

'35, ECCLES-STREET,
'*4th October*, 1848.

'MY LORD,

'I am favoured with your circular dated 30th ult., inviting me to become a member of your society. I do not believe your object, if attained, would repay the people of Ireland for the agitation it must create. To seek for Repeal of the Union with England is an object which might worthily engage the efforts and aspirations of every Irishman. . . . . I think the deprivation, by force and fraud, of the honours and responsibilities of self-government is one of the saddest inflictions which could be visited on any people. Such is the unhappy position of Ireland. Her nobles and her gentry acquiesce in this condition, and have left it to the people alone to cry out and complain of the unnatural—the unjust subjugation. The people have unhappily

adopted an unwise course for the attainment of their cherished wishes: instead of depending on the force of argument and the steady enlightenment of public opinion to render them victorious, they have resorted to demonstrations of physical force, and they have been foiled, and I think fairly foiled, in their unhallowed attempt to gain a just end by improper means.

'This object of the nation's desire having been thus rendered abortive, I feel that no NATIONAL agitation of a minor nature is worth the setting on foot. I should much prefer seeing the Irish people and your Lordship and your worthy associates united with the people of England—who are also suffering under many and grievous and unjust inflictions,—in demanding a large amount of popular privileges. . . . .'

In a letter to the *London Morning Chronicle*, 26th December, 1848, he showed a similar clear perception of the real need to modify political agitation in Ireland: after stating that he was a "Repealer" because:—

'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity were never in the hearts of Englishmen towards Ireland. I believe,—and I have no evidence yet to lead me to a contrary conviction,—that England meant always to treat Ireland as a despised province and not as an integral portion of a great empire, all whose inhabitants had an equal interest in its well-being. . . . . But I am willing to yield up those cherished convictions, because I now see no prospect or probability that Irishmen will be united in demanding a restoration of their right to make laws for themselves. I am willing manfully and honestly to cast

our lot in with England, to unite with her "for better for worse, for richer for poorer," if she on her part will come down from her haughty position and take us as an equal. Then, I hope that the beautiful motto—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, might be adopted by the united people, and made permanent through the means of industry, economy, perseverance.'

He concluded by suggesting that, to insure equality, one-third of the members of the House of Commons should be elected by Irish constituencies, as a first measure of justice from England. The motto for the united people was suggested by the exciting events in France,[1] which he watched with much interest, and was greatly attracted by the early good conduct of the people. In a private letter he wrote :—

'*7th March*, 1848.

'. . . . The French people have, so far, acted with amazing moderation. May similar wisdom continue to guide their councils; then indeed will they teach a lesson which monarchs will do well to learn. What a change in the fortunes of Louis Philippe and his family—one hour encompassed by all the pomp and apparent power of royalty, the next, fugitives for their lives. . . . . Tell all who like wine, &c., that nearly 2000 medical men of the United Kingdom have signed a document that—

"The health, the happiness, the morality of the human race would be greatly improved by the total abandonment, as beverages, of all intoxicating drinks."

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[1] Abdication of Louis Philippe, and proclamation of a republic in Paris, 1848.

Again, with reference to home excitements:—

'*3rd and 5th April*, 1848.

'. . . . I cannot tell whether we are going to have a rebellion, as I am not a conspirator. . . . . We are in a very serious predicament, but whether an outbreak will result no one can foresee. Such awful occurrences are generally caused by some momentary exasperation. We are like men living near a volcano, who may be overwhelmed in a moment, and yet the lava may remain undisturbed for ages. A cask of powder remains harmless until a spark reaches its contents. My hopes of quietness prevail over my fears of bloodshed. Our city is filled with troops; the Dublin Society House and several other public places are now occupied as barracks. If we had not a soldier in the land, I should have no fear, for then our rulers would govern by love, and not by fear. Recent events in Europe have proved the inefficacy of soldiers for maintaining despotic authority.[1] A determined people cannot be for ever awed into quietude. But the Irish are disunited, and so are weak.'

Amidst the great events and busy occupation of the year he never lost a chance of preaching total abstinence, both on the platform with Father Spratt, and through the press. Having met with a letter from the Bishop of London to his clergy, he wrote and published a letter addressed to his Lordship: the following is an extract:—

'. . . . In your Lordship's anxiety to induce the

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[1] In a few months, the impossibility of continued freedom existing with large standing armies was again proved, by the return of military rule to power in all States of Europe.

people to adopt measures to arrest the progress of the cholera,[1] should we again be visited by that scourge, you dwell with great power on the necessity of cleanliness. You also recommend temperance, but not so strongly, and you do not define what temperance is. . . . I would wish to persuade your Lordship that teetotalism alone is true temperance. . . .'

About this time he wrote a memoir of Thomas Clarkson (who died in September, 1846, in his eighty-seventh year); he touched on the chief events of his life in connexion with the British Anti-Slavery Society, of which Mr. Clarkson was one of the founders, in the year 1787: the "Liberator," of Boston, U.S.A., commented as follows, 25th February, 1848:—

"The memoir of this great philanthropist, by James Haughton, of Dublin, which occupies a considerable portion of our present number, was written for an English periodical; the manuscript having been kindly forwarded to us by the worthy author (who himself largely possesses the spirit of a Clarkson, and is continually seeking to relieve his fellow-creatures from misery, both at home and abroad), we lay it before our readers without abridgement, believing they will peruse it with much interest and satisfaction."

In January, 1849, he wrote to the *Freeman's Journal* to explain some of the reasons why a deputation had waited on Lord Clarendon with reference to the recent State trials; he criticised the selection of the juries, and thus concluded:—

'. . . . I believe His Excellency Lord Clarendon to be anxious to perform the duties of his high office with integrity and honour, therefore I am surprised he has only viewed one side of this question. He has justified the law officers of the Crown

[1] The cholera did not arrive in Dublin until April, 1849, and raged until October.—Thom's Directory.

for setting aside, in the selection of their juries, all whom they conceived to be biassed in any degree in favour of the accused. If this be right—and I am not prepared to deny that it is right—I ask His Excellency, is it honest, is it just, is it impartial, to place in the jury-box men who are as fairly chargeable with bias on the other side? . . . . . The reasoning held to be good for exclusion on one side cannot be honestly repudiated when applied to the other. I have long held the opinion that, as Government prosecutions cannot be had before impartial tribunals, they should be discontinued.

'. . . . I hope our rulers will soon discover that the best guarantee of good institutions is the allowance of the freest discussion and writing upon their merits.'

Another allusion to Lord Clarendon in a private letter may be deemed interesting:—

'17*th October*, 1849.

'I agree with you, that Lord Clarendon has evinced a worthy impartiality in the dismissal of Lord Roden and others;[1] indeed, with all my radical notions, I incline to accord him a considerable meed of praise for his conduct in Ireland during the past troublous times. It is not easy for a man in his position always to do right, and in our estimate of the character of men we should make due allowance for the circumstances which surround them.'

The Sanitary Association, of which he and Sir

[1] As justices of the peace (J.P.), in consequence of some Orange displays, sanctioned, or not restrained, by them.—*Irving's Annals.*

Edward Borough were the most active members, was anxiously endeavouring to impress on the people the necessity of strict attention to cleanliness and temperance, in order to guard against the fast-approaching cholera, and their addresses were extensively circulated.

CHAPTER XII.

ALTHOUGH James Haughton was not one of the founders of the Dublin Mechanics' Institute,[1] he became early much interested in its progress, and one of the chief events for him of the year 1849 was the opening of the new building in Lower Abbey-street, which had been a theatre.

The Mechanics' Institute was commenced in the year 1837, in a small house, No. 50, Jervis-street, and was removed in 1838 to the Royal Exchange, now City Hall, where it remained for some years. The meetings of the Committee of four or five peace, anti-slavery, and temperance reformers, before-named,[2] were for some years held in a room in the Royal Exchange, rented from the Mechanics' Institute.

In January, 1841, Mr. Haughton published a suggestion, that £5000 should be raised for a new institute by one hundred subscribers of £50 each. He received some favourable answers from Earl De Grey then Lord Lieutenant, Lord Charlemont, Lord Morpeth (Earl Carlisle), Daniel O'Connell, Peter Purcell, David Charles Latouche, Edward Barrington, William Haughton, and some others; but the move was not

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[1] Dr. Kane (Sir Robert), Wm. Torrens M'Cullagh, the late Professor Maccullagh, F. T. C. D., amongst the founders.

[2] Page 44.

successful, and it was decided to recommence on a smaller scale. James M'Cullagh, James Fegan, and James Haughton were appointed trustees. Although there were several liberal subscriptions, the fund grew very slowly for many years; the working members of the Institution in the meanwhile worked steadily amongst themselves, and raised a good deal in small sums. James Haughton laboured indefatigably, writing to the Press, sending circulars, and making personal applications to his friends and acquaintances. At one time, in August, 1841, he sought to persuade the promoters of a dinner to Lord Morpeth (then Chief Secretary) that the money would be much better spent if given to the Mechanics' Institute. Again, in November, he wrote to the Corporation, to ask for a free site on which to erect a building. For several years the fund was not much increased, and received little addition, except from bank interest. In 1846 he wrote a paper for the *People's Journal*, entitled "What is doing for the People of Dublin?" After a good description of the dirt of Dublin and of the beauty of the environs, with rapid glances at our public institutions, societies, &c., he continued:—

'. . . . We now proceed to say a few words as to what the people of Dublin are doing for themselves. . . . Foremost in the list stands the great teetotal reformation. . . . . There is a Mechanics' Institution, which has been in existence about nine years in a portion of the Royal Exchange. . . . . The Library has been recently (in 1845) enriched by a valuable addition of books, through the liberality of a gentleman[1]

[1] Mr. Sheil. By hard work Mr. Haughton made this collection successful.

living in Liverpool, who presented one hundred pounds, on condition that two hundred more would be raised in Dublin. . . . A subscription for the purpose of erecting new and suitable buildings has been on foot for a considerable length of time, and the trustees of that fund have about £600 in bank; and as £3000 will be required, there is no immediate prospect of success. This incident in the history of a most valuable institution shows in a striking light the apathy of the wealthy classes in Dublin whenever the improvement of the humbler classes is the object in view; a foreign singer, or some performer who could gratify a pernicious craving after excitement, would in a short time pocket a larger sum than would suffice to erect a fine Mechanics' Institution; yet appeals for this object are made in vain.'

Notwithstanding the slow growth of the fund, he was able to announce to the public the purchase of Abbey-street Theatre in the autumn of 1848, and again to stimulate the citizens of Dublin to help the work with new subscriptions. On the 23rd May, 1849, a large number of the friends of the Institution assembled in the new building to celebrate the opening. Amongst the speakers were Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Napier, afterwards Lord Chancellor; George A. Allman, LL. D.; Professor (now Judge) Lawson; Alderman Richard Dowden, Cork; Mr. Campbell, afterwards Lord Mayor;[1] William Neilson Hancock, LL.D. James Haughton read an opening address on the benefits of education to the working man. He stated that the Institution 'had been supported during the last eleven years by the mechanics of Dublin, almost

[1] Now High Sheriff.

without patronage;' in concluding he made another appeal for funds to complete the lecture theatre and class-rooms.

Richard Atkinson, twice Lord Mayor and a highly respected citizen, well known for his generous benevolence, promised one hundred pounds if two hundred more were collected in nine months; the most active exertions were made, and the directors of the Mechanics' Institution were able to invite—as reported in the *Freeman's Journal* of 6th May, 1851—

"A number of influential citizens, eminent for ability, learning, and public spirit, to celebrate the opening of the new Lecture Hall, on 5th May, 1851. Precisely at eight o'clock the chair was taken by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.[1]

"He rose, and was received with most cordial and prolonged cheering. He said that it was with no common feelings of pride and pleasure that he rose to address that assembly—pride in seeing himself surrounded as he was by men of talent and station so far superior to his own, and pleasure to find that great and noble institution now finished and ready for their occupation. [Cheers.] It is a building worthy of the great purpose for which it was erected, and worthy of the patriotic individuals who conceived the notion, and so practically carried it out, and of one eminent among them all—need he mention the name of James Haughton? [Loud cheers.] Most sincerely did he congratulate him on the completion of this great scheme, to which he had devoted so much of his time and his talents." [Cheers.]

Mr. Haughton then read an address, touching on some recent scientific improvements, and on the general progress of education; and, in conclusion, returned thanks on behalf of the committee of management to the Lord Mayor and other friends of popular improvement who had enabled them to erect their present building. He himself received the full credit for success from the several speakers who followed.

[1] Benjamin Lee Guinness, created baronet 1867, represented the city of Dublin in Parliament from 1865 until his death, 1868.—*Thom's Directory.*

Amongst those present were Mr. O'Hagan, Q. C., afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and in the peerage of the United Kingdom Baron O'Hagan; Samuel Ferguson, the well-known poet and archæologist; Rev. Dr. O'Connell, Waterford; Father Spratt, George Woods Maunsell, T. C.;[1] George Petrie, William Harvey Pim, T. C.[1]

Thus, after ten years of persevering work, the Mechanics' Institution was successfully started under most favourable auspices; and, having weathered many storms, the lulling of which was often due to the respect felt for their oldest friend, it became well established as one of the useful and self-supporting societies of our city, and has done good work in promoting education.[2]

Returning to the year 1849, distress and suffering consequent on the famine years being still very great in many parts of Ireland, an influential committee of all sects was formed. The Rev. Dr. Spratt took the initiative, and Lord Cloncurry, Archbishop Whately, Archbishop Murray, Alderman Kinahan, James Haughton, and many others cordially assisted. A considerable sum of money was collected and distributed. At the closing meeting, in September, when the harvest furnished employment for the able-bodied, James Haughton remarked that,

> 'In the distribution of their funds the most cordial co-operation was afforded by the Protestant and Catholic clergymen throughout the south and west of Ireland.'

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[1] Town Councillor.

[2] Twenty years ago there were very few such intellectual resorts for people of small means; now they are abundant under various names, and the old Institute has a keen struggle against the competition.

When commenting on a part of the Report of the committee suggestive of permanent remedial measures, he touched on the need for legislation to give security to the tenant farmers, and 'to facilitate the sale and the transfer of land;' at the same time he condemned the unreasoning censure too often cast on those landlords who might be merely exercising their just rights when enforcing payment of fair rent.

In a letter addressed to Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, and published in the *Freeman's Journal*, in April, 1849, he had strongly expressed the same opinions, and he drew especial attention to a fact stated recently by Sir Robert Peel, in a speech on the new Bill for Sale of Incumbered Estates in Ireland,[1] that "many successful English in the west of Ireland were tenants in perpetuity!"

At a free trade meeting in the Rotunda, in January, 1850, he again alluded to the free sale of land and security of tenure for the farmer. The editor of the *Press* appreciated favourably his remarks, but like many editors of the days gone by, had somewhat obscure vision as to the benefits of free trade!

A few of the comments by the editor are given here:—

"The second resolution is so worded as to betray very artlessly a very unhappy *petitio principii*—

"'That any tax on human food, having for its object the increase of its price, *and thereby rendering the sustentation of human life more difficult*, is a wrong, contrary alike to Christianity and sound policy, as has been too fatally illustrated in the history of Ireland for the last half century.'

"This resolution was moved by Mr. Egan, the drift of whose remarks was that free trade[2] did the Irish farmer no harm. If so, *cui bono* a reduction of rents?[3]

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[1] Afterwards and now "Landed Estates Act."

[2] Mr. Egan was right; our farmers have not suffered by free trade in food.

[3] Suggested by Mr. Egan.

"Mr. James Haughton seconded this resolution in a speech which contrasts very favourably with all that went before, both from the temperate and humane character of his remarks, and from his practical observations on the proper methods of remedy. His reference to the landed proprietary was peculiarly just and reasonable:—

'Some landlords acted harshly and inconsiderately, and now the results of their conduct were falling heavily and disastrously upon themselves. But let not that meeting exult in their misfortunes, but unite like men and Christians for the common benefit of their common country. They wanted that the tenant should have security of tenure. [Hear and cheers.] That was common justice, and he hoped the landlords would unite with the people to secure it for Ireland. They should all unite together, and strive to improve the condition of the people at large, who were the producers of wealth in every country in the world. [Cheers.] The legislature were obliged to adopt a system of poor laws, in order to prevent the suffering people from rising up, and with a strong hand seizing food for their sustenance wherever they found it. [Cheers.] The poor law, though just in principle, was a great weight on the people's resources, and therefore they ought to endeavour to make the rates less by causing the people to be employed, and the resources of the country developed.' [Hear, hear.]

Two of the leaders of the great Free Trade movement, Sir Joshua Walsmsley and Richard Cobden, had recently eulogized the great benefits conferred on the people by the total abstinence movement; he did not allow the opportunity to pass, but published a letter in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 30th November, 1849, entreating them to show the best example, and to become teetotallers.

A popular journal of the most extreme opinions

had commented as follows on his temperance principles and on his general benevolence :—

"There is no man of the present generation who has laboured with more persevering energy in the cause of humanity than James Haughton. His mind is as pure as his work is good. A disciple of that rare school which believes in human perfectibility, and that the vices which pollute society are contracted by means which the exertions of philanthropy can efface by holding up the mirror to moral deformity, and letting it behold its own hideous visage, he toils with the unselfish assiduity of a Howard to expose the social evils with which our degraded nature is impregnated. We have seen him in the haunts of impurity scattering his reforming tracts, and enforcing their benevolent maxims by oral exhortation, not unaccompanied by pecuniary gifts when the need was required for his generosity. He fulfils the duty of a good citizen by instruction and example. Wherever an institution is to be founded, or a public meeting convened for any useful object, there is to be found James Haughton. An Art-Union, a School of Design, a sanitary movement—everything which contributes to the cultivation or comfort of his fellow-countrymen—is sure to find an advocate and a friend in James Haughton. And he carries out his principles to their true and legitimate end. He does not stop short, as many well-meaning men are apt to do, in identifying the happiness of Ireland with the secondary measures which leave the root of the social cancer untouched. He is the strenuous assertor of national independence, though he places no faith in the last resort of oppressed nations. Mr. Haughton believes in the efficacy of moral power. Would he show us, in the history of mankind, a single instance where a people redeemed themselves from bondage with a touch of that necromantic moral wand? But we shall not enter at present into that field of contention.

"The topic which led us into this brief review of Mr. Haughton's public character is a paper on the 'Connexion between Intemperance and Crime,' read by Mr. Haughton before the Dublin Statistical Society. It requires no laboured argument to prove his position. No complicated statistics are necessary to demonstrate what every man has constantly presented to his eye. Nearly one-half of the committals in the city of Dublin are for drunkenness, and a large proportion of the more serious offences is connected with that debasing vice. A very interesting part of Mr. Haughton's pamphlet is that which connects crime with prostitution. The subject is revolting; but, as Mr. H. well observes, 'It is not by shrouding this source of human misery and crime in a veil of affected modesty, that we shall succeed in awakening men's minds to the enormity of the evil.' No—it is by plain speaking and candid exposure that the extent of the evil can be ascertained, and remedial measures applied. We fear, however, that philanthropists begin at the wrong end by advising an abstinence from spirituous liquors. The cure is of a wholly different kind;

for though temperance might check a tendency to crime in one direction, it would infallibly break out in another."—*Irishman*, 7th April, 1849.

In August, 1849, Her Majesty Queen Victoria paid her first visit to Ireland, and during five days' stay in Dublin was everywhere very well received. Mr. Haughton had always been loyal; as a young man, he had expressed great hopes of good from the visit of King George the Fourth, and he now frequently, in conversation and in letters, repeated these hopeful expectations, which were much strengthened by his respect for the Queen and for Prince Albert. These hopes he based, not on the ground of any real gain by the temporary expenditure, but that those visits, more frequently repeated, would tend to make a more cordial sympathy between the people of the United Kingdom.

In 1848 he had written to the Commissioners of National Education, to ask them

> 'To make a knowledge of the evils which flow from the use of alcoholic liquors an elementary branch of education in all our national schools.'

He renewed the attempt in 1850 with temporary success, in so far that the Commissioners

"Will be happy to insert in any future editions suitable lessons on that important subject."

He then prepared a chapter, which was not considered to be "suitable," as—

"After full consideration, the Commissioners do not think it expedient to introduce it into any of their publications."

His suggestion that some other chapter should be prepared was not complied with on the plea that the

"subject is still a matter of public controversy."

La Fédération Medicale, in Belgium, adopted this idea in 1872, probably taken from written evidence

sent to Belgium by Mr. Haughton some years before, at request of a government commission.

He retired from mercantile affairs in 1850, with exception of acting as a Director of the Patriotic Assurance Company, with which he had been connected for many years: he was also for a short time a Director of one of our banks, and also temporarily of one or two smaller companies; but he was not sorry to find himself free to devote more of his mind and of his time to the many and various benevolent duties which he was engaged in and able to labour at for nearly a quarter of a century after.

On the 2nd July, 1850, he was chairman of a meeting held to remonstrate with the Government on the needlessly severe treatment of William Smith O'Brien and other exiles, and to suggest that the time had come when they might with good policy be restored to liberty.[1] The last suggestion had no effect at the time.

The Fugitive Slave Law, which enabled slave-owners to claim and seize escaped slaves in the Free States, had not been long enacted in America; it was one of the boldest encroachments ever made by the slave-holding interest to maintain power in the United States, and the victory then won by the South may possibly be regarded as the cause of the first turn of the slow tide of public opinion against the political power of the Southern States. To an American friend, Henry C. Wright, he wrote forcibly on this subject:

'*22nd November*, 1850.

'. . . . The work of the world's reformers seems to be piled mountains high before them as they

[1] P. 115, and Appendix K.

go forward on the path of duty. . . . . I admire the perseverance of the little[1] band of true-hearted Abolitionists with whom you are acting, and although I cannot see how the great end is to be attained, yet I have faith to believe that your efforts will, at no distant day, be crowned with success. . . . . We have so much wickedness to contend against at home; so much misery to alleviate, caused by misdeeds of pride and power, that the man-stealers and their abettors may, with some shadow of justice, fling back upon Europe her animadversions of their actions; yet, America has on a recent occasion made such a stride on the road of self-abasement, has so far outdistanced us in the career of iniquity, I cannot but think her people will cower under the expression of indignant European public opinion. . . . . We stand mute in amazement at that gigantic villany which has decreed that a whole nation of civilized men should, in the present age, transform themselves into bloodhounds to track the footsteps of fugitives from bondage! . . . . There is, however, a redeeming feature which will crown Americans with honour. You will not submit to the decree. . . . . The tyrant has overshot the mark and kindled an indignant flame in the heart of your Republic, which will, I fondly hope, result in the overthrow of slavery. We look with anxiety for news from your shores, and greatly will the friends of freedom here rejoice, if indignant public opinion against the Fugitive Slave Bill sweep away all those barriers against Negro freedom in the South and against Negro equality in the North, which

[1] Little it was, almost to the end of the war in 1865.

have been reared up against the rights of humanity, and in defiance of the justice of heaven.'

His hopes and belief in human goodness and sense of right, and his high estimate of Americans, were always thus strong; but for many a weary year, and even through bloody battles, must the Abolitionists still struggle, ere the Government at Washington were compelled by the need of war to proclaim abolition of slavery in the South.

CHAPTER XIII.

IN a letter published at the request of a Catholic friend, about the then so-called Papal aggression, and the dead-letter measure of Lord John Russell[1]—just as absurdly called a Penal Law—he seems to have chosen the right word :—

'17*th March*, 1851.

'. . . . It seems to me that the *phrenzy* into which the English people have wrought themselves, and the measures pursued by the Government, in consequence of the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in England, are unworthy of the people, and of our age. Is religious toleration but a name in England?'

About this time the question of Ocean penny postage was brought prominently forward. James Haughton had been for some years in occasional correspondence with the Central Committee, and with public bodies likely to be interested in cheap postage. In a letter to *Saunders' News Letter*, 11th July, 1851,[2] he said :—

'When an idea worth anything is once set rolling over the world, it grows in bulk and intensity

[1] Never acted on, and repealed in 1871.

[2] Next year, 1852, an important meeting was held in London. Earl Granville, Archbishop Whately, Elihu Burritt, Dr. Lyon Playfair, W. Neilson Hancock, LL.D., &c. were of the Council. The postage to America was then and for many years longer 1*s*.; it is now 2½*d*.

until by-and-by men open their eyes and wonder where the beautiful thing has come from. The idea of Ocean penny postage has come to us from America. To Elihu Burritt we owe it, and it may be traced to the original idea of Rowland Hill. In a commercial point of view it is a question worthy the attention of our Chamber of Commerce. In its social bearings it would promote happiness to an incalculable extent. It would promote the cause of peace over the world by strengthening the ties of human brotherhood throughout the great family of man.'

He was always hoping for the steady growth of principles of peace, and he regarded free trade not only as right in itself but as a chief bond of union tending to hasten the wished-for cessation of war; and much of the pleasure he derived from the Great Exhibition of 1851 was due to the expectation that it was an important move towards friendly intercourse between nations. In a private letter he wrote after his return from London, 11th October, 1851:—

'. . . . At first sight, its painting and gaudy decoration struck me unpleasantly as being quite unsuited to the majesty of the plan; but in a little time all such impressions pass away, and the mind is filled with astonishment and delight at the magnificence of the conception and the complete way in which the idea has been realised. . . . . It is very pleasing to reflect on the consequences likely to arise from this peaceful gathering of different civilized nations. I saw much to strengthen my previous convictions, that freedom of intercourse and interchange of works of art and manufactures should be the rule amongst mankind. . . . . I hope

the Exhibition will tend to do away with prejudices, and to carry onwards that civilization which will ultimately enable men to see their true interests. At home we need enlightenment on free trade; we are in advance of most nations, but some are ahead of us.[1] . . . . While I now write, the last public view has been taken of the magic scene. . . . . To those of us who have wandered through its extensive regions, and who have at all pondered on the probable results of such a work, so well conceived by Prince Albert, and so delightfully accomplished by all who had a share in it, the recollection of our visit to this palace of moral as well as material beauty, will long be a source of pleasurable retrospection.'

In other notes afterwards written, his feelings as an Irishman and as a Member of the Royal Dublin Society induced him to place the credit of an idea where it really was started, although in a small way:—

'The idea of bringing together in one great collection the products of the industry of all nations had its origin with the Members of the Royal Dublin Society, who had for many years before held on their premises in Kildare-street a triennial exhibition of Irish manufactures: but their last, which was in 1850, was opened to the products of *all* nations. So that to Dublin is fairly due the honour of having first placed in open competition with her own artisans the products of other countries.'

When a leader of a continental Nationalist party visited America in 1851, he stated in his address to the people of the United States, that he had come to ask for their sympathy for the cause of his country:

[1] None are now ahead of us.

"It is my mission to plead the independence of my country, and the liberty of the European continent, before the Great Republic of the United States. My principle in this respect is that every nation has the sovereign right to dispose of its own domestic affairs without any foreign interference; that I, therefore, shall not meddle with any domestic concerns of the United States." [1]

The anti-slavery men were much divided in opinion as to the course which ought to be followed in America by one who protested so strongly against oppression in Europe. Mr. Haughton, as usual, took the part of the oppressed, and he condemned the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for their needless address to M. ———, thereby sanctioning his avoidance of the slavery question in America :—

'*To the Editor of the "British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter," London.*

'35, ECCLES-STREET,
'*21st January*, 1852.

'DEAR SIR,

'I beg to record my disapproval of the course pursued by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in their communications with M. ———. . . . . In America, as well as in ——— it was his duty to raise his voice against slavery—against the injustice done to three millions of his fellow-men held in bondage. Why, then, should an Anti-Slavery Society volunteer to relieve him from the necessity of taking a part either for or against the coloured man? I regret the course

[1] From a pamphlet published in Boston, 1852. As it is the intention of the writer of this memoir to give the best expressions of his father's opinions, and not to bring forward unnecessarily the past errors of other men, names are here omitted, as in other instances when Irishmen were deservedly condemned for similar inconsistency.

pursued by our American friends. . . . . All men, particularly those men who come prominently before the world as advocates of any high and noble cause, should be held to their own avowed principles, and tested by them.[1] How otherwise can we hope to uphold on earth the practice of manly rectitude?'

Such desertion of principles, especially by many Irishmen, was a long source of regret to James Haughton, and for years he wrote frequently, both publicly and privately, to urge his countrymen, not only that it was their duty to adhere to right principle, but that it was their best policy to prove to the world that their outcry against oppression was honest and true, and not merely political manœuvring. Unfortunately, facts are against us; the Irish in America have been too often banded with the negro-haters and with the oppressors.

On the back of a card of invitation to Charlemont House for 29th March, 1852, to promote a testimonial to Thomas Moore, the poet, he wrote:—

'I attended this meeting. It was one of the most interesting ever held in Dublin; delightful from the unanimity which prevailed, charming from the kindly tone and sentiments of all the speakers, and, I should hope, likely to be attended with good results beyond the immediate object (good though that object is) for which it was convened. Lord Charlemont presided well, though evidently suffering from illness.

'J. H.'

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[1] O'Connell persistently demanded freedom for all.

The testimonials since erected to Moore and to other Irishmen have, by such erection, justified to some extent the national and rational hope expressed above. Of their artistic merits, the observers must judge for themselves.

In May, with some members of his family, he made a short visit to Paris, and was delighted with its beauty and cleanliness, and especially struck by the absence of beggars, and the evidences of wealth and luxury:—

> '. . . . I saw much to praise, and but little to condemn: in the latter category I must place the numerous soldiery. You meet these armed foes of freedom in all directions. . . . . How so much apparent comfort and happiness as we saw can exist in combination with the arbitrary government that now controls France is an anomaly in human affairs that I shall not now stop to inquire into; but while in Paris, and indeed while travelling through France, I could not help desiring that we in Ireland could discover and adopt some of those means of physical enjoyment which the French appear to possess. The peasantry seem to be industrious, and the country looks well cultivated. In Paris the women seem to be the busy portion of the population. In the shops they do nearly all the work, and capital shopkeepers they are.'

Paris was in 1852, as it always has been in modern days, the most attractive city in Europe, although the enormous expenditure had hardly commenced by which Napoleon III. bribed the working people for eighteen years—drew to himself the admiration of those who only see the surface—and hoped to make Paris perfectly safe from insurrection, by erecting

barracks in every quarter, and by piercing wide boulevards subject to the control of cannon. The events of 1870 proved how mistaken were both means for bribing and controlling a populace. It may be here observed that the king, Louis Philippe, was accused of similar intentions when he built the fortifications, which were equally unsuccessful in saving his throne, or keeping out enemies. Loyalty to truth and free government must be the only hope of permanent prosperity for a nation. Even the most ardent adherents of the late Emperor cannot assert that he maintained his pledge of loyalty to the Republic, and although the *coup d'etat* on the 2nd of December, 1851, may be justified to some minds by what is called "State necessity," yet all must condemn the slaughter of the people by the military in the streets of Paris.[1] That event may be here thus cursorily alluded to, as one of the chief causes of some of the important changes which have marked the history of Europe in our day. Napoleon, both as President and Emperor, had been profuse in his promises of peace, which were so repeatedly contradicted by deeds of war. Amongst others carried away by belief in those professions, the Peace Society sent a deputation to France to disseminate their opinions. James Haughton was not with them, but he sent reports to some of the Dublin papers, of the gratifying reception of the deputation in several French cities and towns. In a private letter he stated:—

'The addresses from our towns have been most kindly received, and their sentiments warmly re-

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[1] "No quarter was given to the people. . . . . The number slain was never truly ascertained. . . . . The number of soldiers killed was 25!"—*Irving's Annals.*

ciprocated, so that it would appear that there are many lovers of peace in France, as amongst ourselves.'

From a manuscript book, of the minutes of a committee for the release of William Smith O'Brien and his companions in exile,—all in the handwriting of Mr. Haughton—it seems that a renewed attempt was made in 1852.[1] At a preliminary meeting, held on 25th March, at his house, 35, Eccles-street, only six persons were present. Several meetings were held at same place; Dr. R. R. Madden was at the second, and Sir John (then Dr.) Gray: the numbers steadily increased, addresses were sent for signature to men of all ranks, sects, and parties, and were extensively and promptly responded to. Committee rooms were then engaged in College-green; but the Ministry did not deem it prudent to comply with the wishes of the petitioners, and the exiles were not released until the year 1856.

When answering a circular of invitation, signed by G. H. Moore, M. P. for Mayo County, to attend a meeting "for a conference of the friends of religious equality amongst all denominations of Irishmen," he gave expression to some of his enlightened and broad views on the question :—

'. . . . It has long been a conviction of my mind, that an Association in Ireland, organized for the defence of religious liberty and based on principles unlimited in their operation, would be a universal good. But it must be based on operations wide as the world in their action. It must be prepared to denounce all government interference with the freest exercise of private judg-

[1] Page 105, and Appendix K.

ment on religious matters, whether intolerance be practised in Italy, or in Saxony, or in Spain, or in Sweden, or in England, or in France, or in Turkey, or in Russia,—in any Heathen or in any Christian land. Such an Association must prove its love of freedom by making the whole world the platform of its principles. . . . . It is true, we can only act directly on our own Government, but our labours would act indirectly in other lands, if a true and hearty zeal in favour of right and justice shone forth conspicuously as our guiding star. . . . . I beg, Sir, that you will kindly excuse the plainness of this reply to your letter.'

It was one of the long struggles of his life, to try to persuade Irishmen to extend their views of right and wrong beyond our own narrow circle: it will be observed that he wrote rather of freedom, justice, right, than of equality. At the public meeting held 28th October, there were some indications of the difficulties of uniting discordant elements; the chairman, Mr. Moore, did protest against religious persecution anywhere; but there was a decided difference of opinion between two speakers as to the right or wrong of the treatment of the Madiai family in Italy; and an Italian, Signor Camillo di Massei, educated as a Catholic clergyman, was called to order when he attempted to explain that in his opinion obedience to Papal rescripts was inconsistent with the professions of Irish Catholics.

In November, 1852, persuaded by a very influential requisition from the inhabitants of the Inns-quay Ward, he came forward as a candidate to represent them in the Town Council: in a private letter he wrote:—

'I am your debtor longer than I intended, partly owing to obliviousness caused by a new life in which I am now engaged, and in which I do not hope to breathe as pure and pleasant an atmosphere as I have been enjoying in the quieter walks of life I have heretofore pursued. I am a candidate to represent our Ward in the Town Council. I have been in a manner coerced to come forward, and already some of the penalties of a public position are experienced. Perhaps I may be able to be useful if elected.'

Again:—

'. . . . I was a week too late in the field. I am now rejoicing in my freedom—in fact I feel as if I had gained a victory: my heart was not in the conflict. . . . . It would, indeed, be a novelty in this city to see a teetotal Lord Mayor occupying the Mansion House, and to witness a cold-water entertainment within its walls. . . . . I did not go about canvassing; neither did I ask for a single vote, nor did I go to the polling place.'

His national and loyal feelings are both manifested in the following extracts:—

'In the year 1852, William Dargan, the great railway contractor, and I may say the great patriot, whose name is now "familiar as a household word," came forward with an unlimited offer to erect an Exhibition Building on Leinster Lawn, the premises of the Royal Dublin Society. . . . . From May till November, 1853, this Palace of Industry was open. Our good Queen and Prince Albert, and some of their youthful family, paid it a visit. Nothing was left undone by Majesty and the representative of Majesty to give *eclat* to this national affair.'

He had repeatedly for years appealed to his countrymen at home and abroad, to be true to their pro-

fessions of love of liberty, and to follow the noble example of O'Connell in his hatred of slavery. He deeply felt the slur cast upon Ireland by the accusation that Irishmen were often found to be abettors of tyranny: to one—with whom he had worked in the cause of Irish nationality—he thus concludes an appeal to use his great talents in favour of the slave in America:—

> '. . . . I have always had a strong inclination to look at the bright side of human affairs, and a great faith in the ultimate triumph of justice upon earth. These hopes still live in my heart in spite of many disappointments. . . . . The conduct of Irishmen in America towards the coloured people is not creditable to us. . . . . May you and other friends I have named be true, and not blind guides to them[1] in future.'

His hopes were not realized. None of the Irish leaders who went to the United States, and who at home had urged their countrymen to rebellion against tyranny and oppression,[2] took active part with the Abolitionists of America; by such inconsistency suggesting strongly that dislike to England, rather than a genuine enthusiasm for liberty either at home or abroad, was their moving principle.

The agitation against the use of alcoholic liquor had been for some time assuming a new form. Temperance societies—started about the year 1826, in America; in 1829, in Ireland, and soon after in Great Britain—developed into total abstinence, from 1834 to

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[1] Irishmen.

[2] Such had been the rule in Ireland up to 1829, since which time Constitutional Reforms have steadily taken the place of *class* and sectarian misgovernment.

1835, and reached the maximum about 1840 to 1845, as a consequence of Father Mathew's mission.[1]

In 1848 General Neal Dow carried a prohibitory law in the State of Maine; and in 1851 the law known as the "Maine Law," to render sale and manufacture of intoxicating drink illegal, subject to some exceptions.

The "United Kingdom Alliance for the total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic" was formed in Manchester in June, 1853, on the principle that two-thirds of the rate-payers should have the power to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in their parishes or districts. Of this Association James Haughton was one of the Vice-Presidents. An auxiliary society was formed in Dublin in January, 1854, and in same month he gave an address at an inaugural meeting in Belfast.

In his first published letters, in 1838, he had already hinted at the great public benefit which would be gained 'to prohibit the manufacture for ever.' He long hoped that persuasion and argument might induce men to resist the strong temptation. He so much disliked any legislative interference with individual affairs, that he meditated for years before he felt himself compelled, by the absolute need for public security, to call for a prohibitory law. When he did at last adopt that principle, he was on the whole more in favour of decided general legislation like the Maine Law, rather than the Alliance suggestion of permissive prohibition by districts; but, having given his adhesion to the partial plan, he advocated it for years with his persevering energy.

In June, 1853, he wrote to the *Freeman's Journal*, showing the gradual growth of the temperance, tee-

[1] Page 20.

total, and prohibition ideas during some twenty-five years :—

'. . . . The originators of the movement did not contemplate such a mighty work as a complete overthrow of the drinking customs of society. . . . They fancied the evil could be remedied if they could induce a moderate use of intoxicating drinks. It was a useful agitation in its day. In a little time it was discovered that moderation was an unknown quantity, and that under its *regime* drunkenness still flourished in all its hideousness. . . . . Ardent spirits were then supposed to be the demon to be exorcised. This onward step was regarded as a sort of insanity ; the men who counselled Irishmen to give up their darling whiskey were looked upon as fanatics. . . . . We soon learned that alcohol was the real foe to be encountered ; that, under all disguises of wine, beer, porter, ale, cider, &c., it was the unrelenting enemy of the human race. Then the day-star of teetotalism arose ; then was unfolded the white banner of sobriety, under whose ample folds so many of our countrymen and so many in other lands have found peace and safety. . . . . But the great conquest was not yet achieved. Great as was the sum of happiness created by the pledge, the progress of the movement slackened for a time. . . . . Another step in advance has been taken. America leads the way.'

He then related the passing of the Maine Law, and the formation of the United Kingdom Alliance.

This Association has gradually attained considerable political power, and, under the able parliamentary leadership of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P. for Carlisle, repeated attacks are annually made

against the liquor traffic; but the House of Commons, up to the present time (1877), has always declared against prohibition of the trade, and public opinion is hardly yet quite ready to support such legislation.

In a small book, "The coming Era of Practical Reforms, 1853," Mr. Buckingham, gives the following testimony about total abstinence:—

"The cause in Ireland is now chiefly sustained by the zealous labours of Father Mathew's successors: [1] Father Spratt of Dublin, Richard Allen, and Dr. Harvey of the same city; and James Haughton, a retired merchant, who gives his nights and his days, his tongue, his pen, and his purse freely and liberally to promote the sobriety and welfare of his fellow-countrymen."

[1] His predecessors and cotemporaries.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE friends of peace were again actively at work in consequence of a threatened war with Russia, since known as the Crimean war. Although the fleets of France and of the United Kingdom had cast anchor in Besika bay[1] in June, 1853, yet the Russians and Turks were fighting for some months in the Danubian Principalities, before the public opinion—of those who dreaded the aggrandizement of Russia, and of those who detested the unprovoked attack on a weak state by its powerful enemy—forced our Government to declare war on the 27th of March, 1854, in spite of our growing dislike to intervention in foreign affairs.

For a time the influence of the peace party was small indeed: however, they were not idle, and amongst them James Haughton sent forth letter after letter—at first, attempting to promote meetings to prevent declaration of war, and afterwards for two years perpetually pleading for the earliest possible cessation of fighting. Although his strongest reasons were always based on his belief in the antagonism between Christianity and war, yet he at same time dwelt continually on the economic and political arguments, and he was more especially urgent that

[1] Between Isle of Tenedos and Asiatic shore, opposite the site of Troy, and near the entrance to the Dardanelles.

we should understand if possible why we wished for war; and according to his view of the statements made by various members of the Ministry, he believed that we were about to fight for some unknown reason, on 11th of March, 1854, just before war was declared:—

> '. . . . Are we about to fight from sympathy with the brave Turks? No, there is no treaty in existence which binds us to interfere on behalf of the Turks. Is it because Russia is an overwhelming power? No, says Lord Palmerston; that is an entire mistake: there never has been a great state whose power for external aggression has been more overstated than Russia. . . . . The language of our present Ministry absolutely refutes, I may say, *all* the popular reasons why England should engage in, and Ireland be dragged into, the impending war. . . . . In the name of common sense—to say nothing of humanity or Christianity—what are we going to spend blood and treasure for?'

Thus, before the war; more than a year later, July, 1855, he wrote to the *London Morning Advertiser*, which comments thus:—

"The following communication has been sent to us by Mr. James Haughton of Dublin, one of the most respectable and respected men in Ireland. We need not say that we do not acquiesce in all the sentiments advanced by the humane and excellent writer."—ED. *M. A.*

He commenced the letter with the Christian argument, but continued:—

> 'It would be an idle attempt *just now* to press the opinions of the Peace Society in opposition to the war party, for the nation is still mad for fight, mad for revenge, and mad to prove England invincible. . . . . Russia long since withdrew her troops from the Turkish territory, and by doing so

put an end to all pretence for a continuance of the war, on account of that invasion. If she should attempt aggression at some future day, it would be time enough for us to take means to prevent her renewed encroachments. There is no wisdom in battling at immense cost against a contingency which may only exist in our own bewildered brains!'

In January, 1856, he commenced a letter to the *Freeman's Journal* with 'Peace, Heavenly Peace,' and concluded:—

'Now is the time to act on the principles long advocated by the Peace Society, of providing in all treaties such arrangements for settling differences as may prevent a future resort to arms.[1] The growing good sense of mankind has nearly extinguished duelling; surely religion and civilization combined have the power also to put an end to bloody and senseless war.'

His opinions—of the impolicy of the Crimean war, and, that although our victory might gain for us temporary prestige, yet that, in the long run, our real advantage would be small—were, to a great extent, proved just by the action of Russia during the Prussian and French war of 1870, '71, when the Czar successfully insisted on his right to place ships of war in the Black Sea, and thereby obliterated part of the treaty of 1856. Future historians will probably dwell more on the military events in the Crimea than on our doubtful success in the field of diplomacy.

At the Congress of Vienna, February, 1856, for the settlement of the terms of peace, Lord Clarendon did

[1] Chapter XXIII.

introduce the question of international arbitration; the protocol then agreed to was:—

"The plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the names of their Governments, the wish that states between which any serious misunderstanding may arise should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly power. The plenipotentiaries hope that the Governments not represented at the Congress will unite in the sentiment which has inspired the wish recorded in the present protocol."[1]

The "happy innovation," as it was called by Lord Clarendon, or "a powerful engine in behalf of civilization and humanity," as it was called by Mr. Gladstone, produced its first effects of importance in 1872, by the peaceable settlement of the claims made by the United States against the United Kingdom for losses caused to American trade by the "Alabama steamer" during the civil war of 1861 to '65. That civil war was not rendered less determined by the peace principle above mentioned; and it is well known how it failed to influence the Emperors of France and of Germany in the year 1870: unfortunately, no arbitration could have decided the question then in dispute—which could vanquish the other!

Returning to the year 1854, in the month of June, James Haughton gave evidence before a "Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Houses;" he gave statistics relating to the effect produced by the temperance movement for some years on the sale of intoxicating liquors. The Chairman, the Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, M. P., asked (query 2582): —

[1] "Memoirs of Joseph Sturge," page 499.

"You deliberately state to the Committee that you believe that they[1] would not offer any objection if the Legislature were to go so far to alter the law as to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquors altogether."

Answer:—

'That is my decided opinion, but I should be sorry, if I had the power, to pass a law of that kind without reference to the people on the subject first; though I hold the opinion strongly that they would go entirely with us, I am not certain of it: therefore I would not recommend legislation without consulting them.'

Again, to Mr. K. Seymour, M.P. (2653):—

'If we had universal suffrage in Ireland we would carry the Maine Law in twelve months.'

He expressed his opinion against the endless attempts to regulate the traffic, as repeated failures, and that prohibition would be the only effectual remedy for the mischief caused by strong drinks, but that it should not be enforced contrary to public opinion of the majority of the people, as the law would otherwise be evaded, and would lead to deception; against Sunday traffic in such liquors his opinion was quite decided. Another part of his evidence related to the opening of the Zoological Gardens in the Phœnix Park on Sunday afternoon, in 1840, at a charge of 1*d.*, of which change he had been one of the most active agents.[2] He also alluded to the hoped-for opening of the Botanic Gardens,[3] Glasnevin, on same

[1] The people of Dublin, and also of Ireland.

[2] Page 46.

[3] In November, 1854, he brought forward a motion at a meeting of the Royal Dublin Society to open those gardens. It was referred to the Committee of Botany, who reported against it, chiefly on the grounds of want of funds to pay Sunday wages, and risk of injury to valuable plants. Opened 1861. Page 137.

day, free of charge, and also suggested a similar opening of the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society.

The year 1855 seems to have passed over with few home events of much public importance. Our national energies were fully engaged with the Russian war, with the serious complaints of the bad arrangements for our army during the first winter's campaign, and with rejoicing at the fall of Sebastopol in September. Notwithstanding the joy at the prospects of peace, there was a very popular warlike idea at the time, that, as we had made such ample preparations, and had brought our army up to such an efficient condition, we ought to continue the war. There was also a growing suspicion that Napoleon III. was not such a cordial ally as we hoped, and that he was about to retire from the campaign just when the French had reaped a good deal of glory, and when our army was steadily improving in every respect. But it was never quite clear whether we were dreaming of a second Moscow campaign, or what advantage we were hoping to gain from more slaughter!

The citizens of Dublin, and more especially the owners of property in the neighbourhood of Donnybrook, rejoiced this year at the abolition—during the mayoralty of Joseph Boyce, J. P.—of the Fair, so famous in song and at a distance, so notorious in reality! The Rev. Dr. Spratt and Mr. Haughton exerted themselves frequently for several years to accomplish the long desired cessation of this public nuisance.

The latter was also much occupied this year (1855) in publishing a small book, "A Plea for Teetotallism and the Maine Liquor Law," in which he reprinted, in a concise form, the series of arguments—

medical, moral, social, and religious—which he had already given to the world through the Press, with considerably enlarged statistical information. It was well received, and criticized—chiefly, of course, by temperance publications, which had become very numerous throughout the kingdom.

His old friend, James Silk Buckingham, died in June, 1856, aged sixty-eight years, after a life of unusual activity as a traveller, a writer, a Member of Parliament, and an advocate of many advanced and enlightened reforms.

On the eighth of December, after many months of feeble health, Father Mathew died, aged only sixty-six years. Of him Mr. Haughton wrote to the *Catholic Telegraph*:—

'*22nd December*, 1856.

'. . . . The voice of the Apostle of Temperance is heard no more; the familiar form of him whom many loved to see no longer lives and moves amongst us. The silent grave holds all that was earthly of this once powerful and much loved friend of Ireland; of him whose words stirred up millions to an intense hatred of the vice of drunkenness, and caused many to yield up on the altar of duty their long-cherished habits of intemperance.'

Again, same month, to a Conservative paper, *The Warder*:—

'. . . . The death of this good man has called forth a general expression of kindly feeling from the Press of all parties, such as has rarely been extended to any public character.[1] His gentle demeanour, and the evidently unselfish devotion of

[1] The same expressions of general respect took place in 1873 by the Press, when announcing the death of James Haughton.

his life in the prosecution of a noble work, and the freedom from sectarian animosity and party bitterness which marked his whole career—whether we regard him as a Christian minister or as the leader of the temperance reformation—endeared him to his countrymen of all sects and parties, who, in his presence, forgot their differences, and united for a common good—the salvation of their country from the benumbing and demoralizing effects of intemperance!'

He deeply felt the loss of the good man with whom he had laboured for the same good purpose, and for whom, at the moment of pressing need, he had energetically and successfully worked.[1] He also anticipated the great difficulty, or almost impossibility, of replacing such an apostle for a mission which he believed to be the reform most essential to elevate Irishmen. Frequently and earnestly he appealed to the clergy to come forward and to encourage the people by example and by precept to adhere to the pledge; but with little response, beyond the long tried co-operation of his friend, Father Spratt, who was constant to the last.

The close of the year 1856 was rendered notorious by the bombardment of Canton.[2] In a private letter he wrote:—

'Our terrible doings at Canton strike me as the most infamous and dishonouring barbarities in which Englishmen have ever engaged.'

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[1] Page 69.

[2] Some Chinese authorities having torn down the British flag on board the lorcha "Arrow" was the immediate cause. A year later, December, 1857, Canton was again attacked and taken by British and French forces, and commercial treaties for sale of opium, &c., were forced on the Chinese.

In December, 1856, he wrote to the *Daily Express:*—

> 'In the name of civilization and humanity, I thank you for your outspoken condemnation of the reported bombardment of Canton. For the sake of the Christian character of our people, and for the honour of Britain, let us hope that the story which has reached our ears is false in every particular. If it unhappily prove to be true, then indeed has a wanton outrage on the religion we profess been committed, and another stain of blood wickedly shed has been indelibly marked on England's escutcheon.'

A few weeks later (when Lord Palmerston was about to dissolve Parliament on this question of the Chinese war), he alluded to the party influences brought to bear on all sides; but took the more hopeful view that men were or would be chiefly instigated by the voice of conscience:—

> '. . . . Men of the most opposite political opinions, who are never likely to unite in their views of government, have cordially cast their votes together to express their common God-given convictions on a question involving the cardinal principles of justice and humanity, which they feel have been most shamefully outraged.'

Outraged by the bombardment of a defenceless city, crowded with women and children.

In a private letter, April, 1857:—

> '. . . . I did not vote at our city election,[1] as I

[1] This was almost the only instance when he felt himself compelled to refuse his support to Liberal candidates. We may now, without much uncharitableness, assume that the opinions of all politicians were much influenced by party feelings, as to the right or wrong of slaying the Chinese.

feel strongly that the bombardment of Canton was an act of such barbarity as to deserve the severest censure. I could not support men who would sustain Lord Palmerston in his opinions on that subject. Reynolds and Brady would do this: therefore I declined to vote for them. I felt some regret at not being able to vote for Grogan and Vance, as they appear to me right on that question; but on most others I differ from them, so I could not support them. Messrs. Grogan and Vance were elected. The city was so quiet on the day of election, you would hardly have known that anything unusual was going forward. It was very different when the College election commenced. . . . . The College boys were all in uproar. ——— made one of the finest and cleverest speeches ever delivered amongst them. I did not hear him, but I learned on all hands that it was a great effort. . . . . Our Anti-Capital Punishment and Maine Law Committees distributed large numbers of addresses to the electors, and I had a good deal of badinage about standing for the city myself on extreme radical grounds. But I am not to honour St. Stephen's in the new Parliament.'

In ordinary times, in the "piping times of peace," there are to be found many men of tepid sentiment, who are willing to condemn war in the abstract, who are willing to blame acts of injustice towards other nations (especially mean acts of violence against the weak, which acts are avoided or omitted against the strong), who are willing to keep under due subjection their national feelings, and to allow themselves to judge somewhat impartially between right and wrong; but when the critical moments arrive most of us are

carried by impulse, and we severely censure those few men who, influenced by strong conscientious convictions, step boldly forward to maintain their principles, and to mitigate the "wild passion of revenge." The news in May,[1] 1857, of the Sepoy mutiny—of the slaughter of our friends, men, women, and children—of the reported outrages and mutilations—added to the panic lest we might lose our Indian empire, and much of our prestige in the world—excited our passions in the highest degree, and stirred up a spirit of sanguinary revenge, which, however natural and human-like, can hardly be regarded in calmer moments as humane and Christian. Some few men had the courage to face public obloquy by attempting to stem the torrent of blood, which was so loudly called for, and which was poured out with no sparing hand. It is now needless to repeat how our empire was saved, after fearful struggles, carried on nobly by men of both our isles, who, few amidst many enemies, proved themselves well worthy of their long-earned reputation for courage and endurance; but whilst honouring those men of bold deeds, shall we not also honour others, who had the moral courage to strive to maintain the character of people who had long assumed themselves to be civilized Christians, leaders of human progress, and teachers of the rights of man?

The ugly names, "Sepoyism," "rebellion," "hostility to England," did not deter James Haughton from decidedly and frequently giving utterance to his abhorrence of the revengeful feelings which he deemed to be not only opposed to the precepts of Christ, but

[1] Disturbances in February, March, April.

in every way unjustifiable and impolitic. He and others like him, who had almost foretold the inevitable consequences of misrule, and had been laughed at as Cassandras for a quarter of a century, felt that their long acquaintance with Indian questions[1] gave them some authority to speak out, and to demand that a people to whom so much real cause for rebellion had been given should not now be hunted down as wild beasts, and indiscriminately slaughtered without mercy or justice. In September, 1857, he wrote to the *Freeman's Journal*, heading the letter with some lines by his old friend, Dr. R. R. Madden, one of those men who abhor injustice and bloodshed:—

> "'Blood! blood! blood!
> What a horrible cry in a Christian land!—
> Where they boast that the Bible's in every one's hand,
> And the Gospel is preached to the rich and the poor—
> To be rung, as it is, in our ears evermore."

'There is a fierce and revengeful spirit abroad. . . . . It seems to be forgotten that now is the moment to call into action the finer and nobler feelings of our nature. . . . . Is it because a few dehumanized beings in India have revelled in the blood of innocence that our people are to be incited to like deeds of horrible revenge? Is this to be the fruits of our Christianity? Is this to be the result of our civilization in the nineteenth century of the Christian era? Some of the English papers are absolutely heathenish in their spirit. They are demanding a brutal retribution on the innocent, as well as on the guilty. . . . . I hear around me,

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[1] Pp. 22, 44.

"Destroy, utterly destroy, Delhi; let the accursed city be razed to the ground, and every city where our women and children have been butchered."

Are there no innocent women or children in those cities? Are those also to be turned over to the assassin, to gratify the tiger thirst for blood which has been awaked? I do not justify the savage conduct of the Sepoys; it is too horrible to think of it. But such is war. Blood! blood! is its aliment, and its cravings are insatiable. . . . . All I now ask of the people of Great Britain and Ireland is to repudiate the cry for vengeance; demand that none save the guilty shall suffer!'

In the series of letters which he wrote he endeavoured to impress on the public mind that our misgovernment of India—"stained with fraud, with breach of justice, with cupidity"—as he had been preaching and writing for many years, had resulted in its long-dreaded consequence; and that from motives of policy, if not from religion and morality, we should act on principles of justice, if we hoped to maintain our power and influence.

On the margin of a letter in the *Times* (of 12th April, 1859) he wrote:—

'. . . . This letter confirms all I have ever stated relative to our misgovernment of India. J. H.'

The letter was from "Our own Correspondent" (dated Lucknow, 15th of February, two months after final suppression of the mutiny), who began:—

"What a dream full of unsubstantial delusion has it been—what a placid delirium has it proved—the contentment of Hindostan with our rule, and the affection of its people for our rulers!"

Again:—

"For a Christian people we did very odd things in India."

The great political effect of the mutiny was the abolition of the monopoly of the East India Company, and the transfer of power to the Crown and a Minister responsible to the House of Commons—objects to attain which, James Haughton had been occupied so early as the year 1832.[1]

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[1] Page 22.

CHAPTER XV.

MEN deeply imbued with principles of peace and with horror of slaughter were, almost as a matter of course, opposed to capital punishment. A Society seems to have been formed in London, in 1829: some well-known anti-slavery men were on the Committee, Wm. Allen, Thomas Fowell Buxton, M.P.; Thomas Clarkson, J. McCay, Esq., of the Dublin Institution, Sackville-street—the only Irish name. One of their first publications was the report of a "Speech[1] of the Rt. Hon. Sir W. Meredith, Bart., in the House of Commons, May 13th, 1777, in a Committee on a Bill creating a new Capital Felony."[2] The Society was re-formed in 1846, with a numerous Committee, amongst whom were Richard Cobden, M.P.; John Bright, M.P.; Charles Dickens, &c.[3] A Dublin Committee was formed in 1849: James Haughton was one of the active members, and he had frequently published letters and spoken at meetings, against capital punishment, for some years previously, and pursued the same course through life. In this year, 1857, the Society took advantage of an approaching

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[1] Against death punishment.

[2] Ship burning.

[3] In a pamphlet, 1840, it is stated—"for the first time in the history of Parliament, a resolution for total abolition of capital punishment was moved by Mr. Ewart—93 voted in favour."

election to issue an address advocating the total abolition of the penalty of death.

At Manchester, in October, 1857, he was chairman at the annual meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance, which association was already exercising considerable political, as well as social influence.

In one of his letters he states that the cause of temperance in Dublin received new life this year from the visit of General the Hon. Neal Dow, of Portland, in Maine, U. S. A., "the Father of the Maine Law":—

> '. . . . Mr. Dow's power consists in his persistency of action; he has done great work; he is still doing a great work in the world; he was well supported in Dublin by two other gentlemen. Judge Marshall, of Nova Scotia, now in his seventy-first year, has all the vivacity of youthful energy, and the Rev. Mr. Reid is a tower of strength in our cause.'

Two events of merely local importance engaged some of his time in the autumn of same year—the twenty-seventh meeting (the second in Dublin) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in the handsome new building for lectures just then completed in Trinity College; and the erection of the Moore statue in College-street.

In May, 1858, he made a second attempt to persuade the members of the Royal Dublin Society to open the Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, to the public on Sundays after two o'clock; but Sabbatarian feeling, exclusive feeling, and want of confidence in the good conduct of the people defeated that effort. He renewed the subject during other sessions, but it required three years and some public agitation before the opponents gave way, in the year 1861. Since

then the Gardens have been visited by numbers every Sunday, who verify the evidence given by Mr. Haughton in 1854, before a committee of the House of Commons,[1] when he stated his opinion that much good and much pleasure to the people would be the result of such free opening, and that no injury nor ill conduct need be feared. In a letter published 26th August, 1861 :—

> '. . . . The fondest expectations of the friends of the opening of the Botanic Gardens to the public on Sundays have been realized. This wise measure, recommended by the Government, and carried into effect by the Royal Dublin Society, came into operation on yesterday week, when seven hundred persons visited the Gardens; yesterday there were nearly sixteen hundred.[2] This large assemblage of our fellow-citizens presented a scene of happiness and good order, delightful to behold.'

Many years' experience confirms the opinion he thus expressed, that it was a wise measure. The Museum, in Leinster Lawn, is not yet opened on Sundays, although Government has had considerable control over the management of the Society since the year 1866.[3]

The after-dinner threats of French colonels in January, 1858, to pursue to England the Orsini band of assassins[4], and the inauguration of the naval port and arsenal of Cherbourg in August, were followed by our chronic or periodic war-cry against French aggres-

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[1] P. 126.

[2] On Sunday, 3rd September, 1876, 5180 persons; in 1875, week-day visitors, 50,624; on Sundays, 126,200.

[3] Important changes are now under arrangement to increase still more this control over some departments.

[4] Who attempted to kill the Emperor, Napoleon III., by exploding shells, near the Opera, in Paris.

sion—a malady dating possibly from the Norman invasion, as we know of none more recent, to explain our occasional panics. The friends of peace in Dublin, as well as in other places in the United Kingdom, were, as a matter of course, lending their influence to protest against renewed military and naval expenditure, to meet an unknown and improbable danger. About the end of same year, and beginning of 1859, James Haughton was also much engaged in promoting meetings and getting petitions prepared to protest against the "Iniquities of the Opium Traffic"[1] in India and China. In a private letter, 30th March, 1859:—

'I have been busy getting signatures to a petition against the opium traffic, which I sent off to London to-day. . . . . This cruel traffic is carried on by England in India purely for gain, utterly regardless of human misery; and, like other sins we are guilty of, gives some appearance of sanction to the saintly explanation of all men's vices, that they proceed from "original sin," which is but a cunning mode of casting all the blame on the Almighty, who, according to this theory, made us semi-devils, so that we cannot help being fiends! It is not easy to find out a good reason for things as they exist, and as most of us are willing to place our responsibilities on another's shoulders, the clerical stratagem I referred to is extensively accepted, and we go on in our evil courses without much compunction. . . . . I had not a few refusals to sign the petition, and reasons given which pained

[1] Title of a book by Rev. A. S. Thelwall. London, 1839. After reading it, in 1858, Mr. Haughton wrote:—'The answer to this appeal was a determined increase of the vile trade, which now extends to over 80,000 chests per annum.'

me; yet we should give the liberty to others which we claim for ourselves—the right to think and act as their feelings dictate.'

In the same letter he touched slightly on home politics, when a general election was followed by the transfer of power from the Tories under Lord Derby to the Whigs under Lord Palmerston :—

'. . . . Our Reform meeting was a most respectable gathering in the Round Room: the platform crowded, and the room well filled with an attentive auditory. Several good speeches; I only said a few words. I urged the propriety of making education the sole basis of the suffrage; that every man who could read, write, and cipher in the four first rules of arithmetic should have a vote.'

On this question, as on all others to which he gave his attention, he had a direct defined opinion, easily to be understood; he did not measure men by indefinite and varying sums of money, the product of their own talents, or inherited from others; he believed that all men should vote who, unconvicted of any crime, could give some evidence that they understood their duties as citizens of a free country.

He was also engaged this year (1859), and occasionally for several years, in a movement set on foot to open Stephen's-green to the public; but from want of funds, and from the strength of private interests, it still remains a deserted land in the midst of a large population.[1]

He was also occupied with another small agitation,

[1] It is now (1877) to be hoped that long delayed arrangements between the Government, the Town Council, and others, are rapidly approaching the wished-for termination, and that we will soon have another public park.

which was also carried on for some years—an attempt to impress on the Lord Lieutenant (Earl Carlisle) and the Government their duty to repay to the depositors of the Cuffe-street Savings Bank their losses caused by defalcation and mismanagement. The public in general had believed that there was a Government guarantee against loss, and a committee[1] of all sects had been formed, in 1856, to carry out, if possible, the benevolent purpose of recovering for the poor their small deposits, but the success was only partial, and only some of the money was repaid after several years' agitation.

The friends of peace were again startled by the Emperor Napoleon III., who throughout his reign so frequently contradicted by deeds of war his famous maxim, "L'Empire, c'est la paix." His reception of the Austrian ambassador, Baron Hübner, at the Tuileries, on 1st January, 1859, was such as to send a panic through Europe. An attempted Congress of the five great European powers, to arbitrate the points of difference, failed to reconcile the war spirits. In May, the French army commenced their march into Italy, and by their rapid junction with the Piedmontese won first the battle of Magenta, and then that of Solferino. By these victories the French gained great *eclat*, and the Austrians lost Lombardy, which became a part of what was soon to be the Kingdom of Italy, under Victor Emmanuel. Napoleon, either content with the glory for France (and the after-acquisition of Nice and Savoy), or fearing the growing strength of Italy, withdrew from the campaign, leav-

[1] Some of the names were Father Spratt, Rev. J. J. MacSorley, Judge Longfield, Jonathan Pim, James Haughton, J. W. Murland, W. Neilson Hancock, J. K. Ingram, F. T. C. D.

ing the Austrians still in possession of the Venetian territory; he was, however, unable to cope with the policy of Cavour, who succeeded in quickly annexing the duchies and part of the Romagna to the new kingdom; nor could he prevent the daring conquest of Sicily and Naples by Garibaldi, in 1860.

On the subject of peace James Haughton was constantly talking and writing. In August, 1859, he published a strong appeal:—

> '. . . . The idea has long prevailed that the true way to preserve peace is always to be prepared for war. All history proclaims the utter fallacy of this idea. Yet nations, submitting to the mad ambition and pride of kings, rush into the system which has been handed down to us from our barbarous forefathers, whose thirst for war we outrival by all the superior appliances for legalised murder which our modern scientific attainments have put us in possession of. Look at Europe at the present moment. There are upwards of four millions of soldiers within her boundaries, trained for the alleged purpose of preserving peace.[1] . . . . The war spirit is rife amongst us; it would be easy to set us once more mad on the subject, and drive our soldiers and sailors in insane career for the wholesale destruction of their fellow-men.'

A month later, when a new Chinese war was announced, he wrote again:—

> 'The friends of peace have a hard task; while they are striving to save mankind from all the horrors necessarily resulting from war, they are

[1] Probably now nearly three times that number.

subjected to the charges of want of patriotism and of wild fanaticism. A few days ago we thought we were at peace with all the world, but once more our journals sound the infernal cry for revenge—for more horrible slaughter of our fellow-men. It is boldly assumed—and assumed in the face of all the facts we have before us—that the Chinese have made a wanton and treacherous attack on an armed British squadron sailing up one of their great rivers. An armed and powerful fleet proceeding to their capital on a mission of peace!! Was ever the like of this heard of in the world before? . . . . It is not stated that our ambassador was prohibited from going to Pekin; on the contrary, we are told that he was at full liberty to proceed to that city; but it was also intimated that no English men-of-war would be allowed to enter the Peiho. Surely there was nothing unreasonable in this caution on the part of the Chinese? Did we not bombard Canton on slight provocation? Might we not bombard Pekin? . . . . Surely, the people of this country are not so unjust and so wicked[1] as to lay down one law for themselves and another for the Chinese? The American ambassador went peaceably to Pekin. England's ambassador might, no doubt, be there also, if he too went in the garb of peace. . . . . I repudiate the maxim that "we should support our country, be she right or wrong;" there is no loyalty, no patriotism in it. True patriotism and genuine loyalty consist in loving the right and the true, and in condemning with an unsparing hand every act which our rulers commit

[1] Exactly what all *civilised* nations are towards the weak.

in opposition to the grand fundamental principles, "Let us do unto others as we would that others do unto us."'

The same "golden rule" was constantly in his thoughts when writing on other questions, such as slavery, West India immigration of coolies, the relations between employers and employed, &c. A not uncommon attack against him—both by the ignorant and also by the wilfully blind, who were semi-concealed supporters of slavery and of tyranny abroad—was to accuse him of neglect and disregard of the people at home. He was so well known as an extreme Liberal, that it was hardly necessary for him to answer or notice such misrepresentations; but he frequently made them pretexts for preaching his doctrines of practical Christianity. He had no feeling in common with those who pretended that negro slavery and political tyranny in other lands found their parallels in the treatment of the people at home, bad as he considered many laws had been and still were in his day. He was too clear-sighted and too honest not to see, and also to tell the people openly, that much of their misfortune and misery were due to their own misconduct and want of prudence, and that the remedy was to a considerable extent in their own power; at the same time, whilst he was a persistent advocate for extension of the suffrage, for land reforms, and for various other remedial legislative measures, he had also much faith in a system of mutual concessions amongst individuals, and he was continually trying to influence both employers and employed to arrange their differences rather by judicious yielding on either side than by strikes, which often caused

violence, and unjust restrictions, and hard terms of censure.[1] He had great hopes that the co-operative system, wisely carried out, would ultimately result in advantages for all.

To the editor of the *Sligo Champion*, who had asked him to advocate the rights of the tenantry of Ireland, he wrote, 20th December, 1859:—

> '. . . . I have long felt thankful for your willingness to assist me in my humble efforts to promote the temperance reformation. Is it a less worthy object to endeavour to imbue our countrymen with an ardent, an honest, an enthusiastic love of liberty? I co-operated with our true-hearted O'Connell for many years in his glorious efforts to implant in the souls of Irishmen a deep abhorrence of oppression at home and of slavery abroad. I could fill your broad sheet with extracts from his burning speeches—his noble addresses to his countrymen on the subject of American slavery. . . . . I have written much on this question because it deeply concerns the honour of my countrymen, for there are millions of Irish in that land, and it is a sad truth that, as a general rule, they are unfriendly to the rights of the coloured people. . . . . You call on me to advocate the rights of the tenantry of Ireland. There are few living men who hold such Radical[2] opinions on the subject of landownership as I do.'

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[1] Suggestions which he published, and also made personally to many of his acquaintances, as to the good policy of more frequent consultations between masters and workmen, especially in cases of tenders for contracts, were often indignantly commented on, as too degrading for the masters.

[2] Only moderate Liberal opinions now, such has been the change in seventeen years!

He then repeated his opinion, that perpetuity of tenure as long as rent was punctually paid should be the law, with periodical alterations of the rent to meet the *natural* increase of value which should belong to the landlord, but that *all* increase caused by labour or other expenditure of tenants should belong to them. At one time he had strong faith in the doctrines of some writers on Political Economy, who put the greatest trust in individual efforts and "laissez-faire;" but the apparent impossibility of exact and uncompromising adherence to any such economic laws, and the certainty that public opinion was not ripe to adopt them, even if proved to be absolutely true, led him to modify his strict opinions: and, having once opened his mind to the right of legislative regulation between landlord and tenant, it was inevitable that his tendency of thought should lead him to see the most direct way without complication or needless compromise; and it thus seemed to him very much more simple to decide periodically the increase in value of land independent of tenants' labour, than to adjudicate perpetually the ever-recurring petty discussions as to values of so much manure, so many perches of wall, so much loss by disturbance, &c. He never changed his opinion that the free sale and simple transfer of land were the soundest principles of action, and the first essentials for real reform of land legislation, but his own observation of human nature would not allow him to blind himself to the evident differences between land and other possessions—not only is it limited in supply in all old countries, but there is a sentiment of attachment to home, which no cool-headed reason nor common sense argument of profit or loss can get rid of. A man will sell his wheat or railway shares without a thought

of regret, but to part with land causes a pang to the owner, and no less so to the farmer, whose ancestors may have tilled it for years.[1] He believed that the land belonged to the nation, and was only lent or leased to trustees to be managed as well for the nation's good as for the profit of individuals.

In a private letter he mentioned a fresh panic which had run loose in England about the designs of France:—

'*25th January*, 1860.

'. . . . What madness possesses the people on the subject of military life! In a speech at Manchester, a few days ago, John Bright read a quotation from a speech of Lord Lauderdale's, in the House of Lords, in 1793, showing that similar folly pervaded the English nation then, relative to the supposed designs of France. . . . . We will not live in peace with the world. The expedition now preparing for renewed war in China is one of the most unscrupulous on record. I published a letter against it in the *Freeman* last week. I am busy as usual. We hold a Permissive Bill meeting on Monday next; about 350 ministers of the Church of England have sent us in their adhesion to that measure from different parts of Ireland.'

Again:—

'*11th February.*

'I fear our Chinese proceedings will end in terrible mischief, unless that obstinate people submit to all our wicked and unjust demands. . . . . I did go to hear Mr. Spurgeon, and I liked him; he is an earnest man, and well calculated to interest the

[1] Page 78.

multitude; he spoke much more liberally than I expected. In private life he is a jolly pleasant fellow, full of fun and repartee; Dr. ——— having asked me to meet him, I spent an hour or two very agreeably. . . . . I often wish our Heavenly Father would give us a little more light as to futurity; but we must be satisfied, and endeavour to live in faith and hope of a blessed reunion with dear friends, whose loss we cannot help to mourn. . . . . Last evening I went to hear Dr. Barter[1] lecture in the Rotunda. He dwelt on the advantages of the bath, the improved Turkish bath, about which he is enthusiastic.'

At no time of his life was he more actively engaged in promoting the temperance cause; he frequently visited various towns, to deliver lectures, on the invitation of local societies, and he perpetually felt the great want of a successor to Father Mathew, to check the returning taste for strong drink, and he constantly appealed to the clergy to undertake the good work. His appeals to the people were published by newspapers of all sects and of all parties, whose columns were open to his letters in a most liberal and unusual manner.[2]

In November, 1860, he sent a circular to the railway directors in Ireland, calling their attention to the clear benefit and freedom from accident on the Stockton and Darlington line, as a consequence of the abolition of the sale of all intoxicating drinks at their stations for many years—a fact supported by the opinions of nearly all our traffic managers—

[1] The late Dr. Barter, of St. Ann's Hill, County Cork. He was the first to introduce, in the year 1855 or '6, into Christian countries the modern hot-air bath, now to be found in most cities and towns.

[2] Page 37.

"We are of opinion that it is desirable to prohibit the sale of the liquors referred to at railway stations."

Although the evidence of the commercial profit[1] to be gained by keeping temptations away from railway servants was so undoubted, yet railway directors did not feel courageous enough to encounter public opinion; and even the mild compromising measure, of banishing spirits only from one line, has been a perpetual source of travellers' discontent.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone seems to have given expression to the not uncommon delusion, that drunkenness does not exist in wine-growing countries —a delusion due either to the very indefinite meaning of the word *drunken*, or to the want of observation of those who will *not* see people under the influence of liquor in France, in Germany, in Italy, in Switzerland: in all those lands drink is a bitter enemy, and chief promoter of quarrels, petty annoyances, misery, and bloodshed.[2] On 28th March, 1860, James Haughton published a letter, addressed to Mr. Gladstone:—

'SIR,

'In your late conference with the deputation of the United Kingdom Alliance, you are reported to have said—

> "There is not a country in Europe where wine is abundant, that the people are drunken."

'Permit me, Sir, to state a few facts, which

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[1] A cause of accidents removed.

[2] Signs of drink are not very often seen on Rotten-row; nor on the Boulevard des Italiens; nor in the Volksgarten, Vienna; nor on the Pincian Hill, Rome; but even a short-sighted tourist will find too many on the outer boulevards, and if he inquire in Italy about the cause of the numerous knife-cuts there visible, the almost invariable answer is, "the wine-shop!"

strongly impress the conviction that this idea, although very generally entertained, is erroneous.'

He then gives statistics, proving the evils of drink in wine-growing countries, quoting the late Duke of Orleans, Horace Greeley,[1] Mr. Delavan,[2] and concluded:—

'. . . . I entreat you not to throw further impediments in the way of the overthrow of the accursed liquor traffic, by encouraging a new trade with France in the poison, alcohol.'

The allusion to French wine was in reference to a treaty of commerce with France, which treaty, whilst condemning as a moralist, he also disapproved as an ultra free-trader. He had long since satisfied himself that all protective duties were mischievous, and that we should get rid of them, and adopt direct taxation, whether other countries followed our example or not.

A photographic group of temperance reformers was published this year, 1860, with a short biographical key to each:—

"James Haughton, Esq., of Dublin, sends the following modest account of himself, but the readers of this book are already acquainted with his unremitting exertions, and especially with his efforts to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their duty, by means of appeals to them in the columns of Irish newspapers. Mr. Haughton says:—

'I have been twenty years a teetotaller, and am now in my sixty-fifth year. I have enjoyed better health since I gave up the use of intoxicating drinks than I remember at any previous period of my life. This is all the information I have in my power to give you in regard to my personal con-

[1] Founder of *New York Tribune*.

[2] An American traveller, who satisfied himself that the wine of the Gospels was unfermented juice of the grape.

nexion with the great cause, except that I have laboured for its success because I think such labours beneficial to my fellow-men, and pleasing in the sight of our Heavenly Father.'

The subject of Coolie immigration[1] into the West Indies had been for some time exciting much attention, especially amongst those who detested slavery under all forms, and who wished to see British rule directed by justice both at home and abroad. In March, 1859, and in February, 1860, Mr. Haughton read papers before the Dublin Statistical Society on "The progress of the British West Indies under freedom," and "Immigration into the British West Indian Colonies," commencing as follows:—

'That the British West Indies have been ruined —either by the emancipation of their slave population, by the deficiency of labour consequent on that measure—or by the laziness of the coloured man since he became his own master—is a proposition stoutly maintained by some owners of estates in those colonies. A loud demand for immigration has been raised from time to time; and the home government have been induced to sanction measures for the introduction of immigrants, which justly subject the parties concerned not only to the charge of introducing a species of semi-slavery, but also of a violation of justice to their labouring population.'

He argued against the gross injustice of taxing the underpaid negro workers to pay for the introduction of rival labourers; he showed that coolie apprenticeship was merely modified slavery under another name; and that contracts between the strong and the weak,

[1] From India.

between the educated and the ignorant, required the most strict oversight—if, indeed, they should be at all sanctioned so as to restrict in any way the free return home of the labourer at his pleasure; and he gave as illustration of the value of free immigration, the constant flow of population to America from Europe and from China. He further proved, that by misrule, mismanagement, and by the utter neglect of their own business on the part of absentee[1] proprietors, the progress of the West Indies had ceased, and bad times had set in, long before emancipation of the slaves; and that in every way there were indications of decided and hopeful improvement, of late years; and that the negro was willing to work when paid fair wages. In support of these statements, he quoted from the writings of Joseph John Gurney, Mr. Bigelow, an American; Charles Buxton, M.P.; Rev. J. Clarke, of Jamaica; Captain and Mrs. Swinton, of a coolie ship; the *Liberal* newspaper, of Barbadoes; and the London *Economist.*

Amidst all his work he never forgot the slave, nor the long desire of his life—to elevate the Irish name at home and abroad.

The following address appeared in the *Boston Liberator*, U.S.A., February 24, 1860:—

'*To Irishmen in America.*

'COUNTRYMEN,—My heart often prompts me to address you in a few words of kindly remonstrance. I wish you to conduct yourselves in the distant land you have made your home, so that your conduct may reflect honour on the loved country you have left behind you, and cause you to be really respected

[1] The slave-holders were farmers and sugar manufacturers, and not merely receivers of rent.

by the people among whom you now dwell. These advantages can only be secured by a steady adherence, on your part, to the principles of truth and honour, which you should make the guiding stars of your life.

'You love liberty for yourselves. Be consistent in your advocacy of this universal right of the human race, and claim it as the inalienable privilege of all men—of the coloured man, as well as the white man.

'I fear too many of you have forgotten your duty in this respect, and that thus the fame of old Ireland—which we should shield from the breath of dishonour—is sullied in the eyes of those who should only see reflected in your conduct evidence of the firm determination of our countrymen to stand fast by the noble principles of Christian rectitude.

'In the twelfth century, the Synod of Armagh proclaimed liberty to every captive in Ireland, and since then a slave has never polluted our green isle.

'Remember the faithfulness of O'Connell. Let his memory, which is embalmed in many of our hearts, and his whole life, which was a consistent course in favour of civil and religious liberty, be a beacon of light guiding you in your career. Demand, as he did, that freedom for all which you claim as your own birthright.

'Thus, and thus alone, can you secure true respect for yourselves, and cause the stranger to say of your country, "If I were not an American, I should be proud to be an Irishman."

'By all your pleasant memories of Ireland; by her glorious mountains and her beautiful valleys; by her verdant plains, which are watered by the

streams in which you loved to disport yourselves in childhood; by your love of these things; by your affection for your kindred and friends, and by your honour for Almighty God—I appeal to you, and I ask you to love your fellow-men of all complexions and of all creeds, and to demand for them all the exact measure of justice you claim for yourselves.

'The sad moan of four millions of slaves comes across the broad ocean, and it sounds painfully in our ears. I ask you to aid in turning their sorrow into joy—to aid in enabling the fathers and mothers of the coloured race in America to clasp their little ones, and feel all the happiness and all the responsibility of being their guardians and their guides, from infancy up to manhood. Turn not a deaf ear to the cry of the slave, but let him feel, in future and for evermore, that in every Irishman he has a friend.

'Whatever may be your rank or condition in the land of your adoption, believe me, countrymen, you can only acquire and maintain an honourable reputation there by such a course of conduct as I recommend; and whatever may be your practice, whether in consonance with, or in opposition to these sentiments, I feel assured that you will say in your hearts, "he is right." I entreat you to act manfully in accordance with your convictions, and I beg to subscribe myself,

'Faithfully yours,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.

'DUBLIN, 35, ECCLES-STREET.'

CHAPTER XVI.

THE bloody crisis in the life of the United States of America was now near at hand; the long-dreaded rising of the negroes against the whites, and the merciless slaughter and extinction of the former, was not to be, but North and South were to suffer the consequences of their errors and their compromises —of their faithlessness to their professed love of liberty—of their cruelty and oppression.

Abraham Lincoln, elected President, 6th November, 1860, said in his inaugural address, March, 1861:—

"I have no purpose, direct or indirect, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists."[1]

Notwithstanding this plain declaration, the South—either irritated at the loss of political power, or dreading to lose influence over their slaves—determined to secede from the Union; and the North, with open avowal of dislike to, and disregard of, the rights of the coloured people,[2] determined to maintain the Union, to maintain slavery, and to punish the South for the insult offered to the American flag by the Southern attack on Fort Sumter, then (1861) held by United States troops.

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[1] *Irving's Annals.* And, from same work, 22nd August, 1862 (more than a year and a-half after opening of the war): "President Lincoln, in a letter to Horace Greeley, writes: 'My paramount object in the struggle is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.'"

[2] Always excepting the few Abolitionists.

For four years, masses of men of the same race were banded against each other in numbers not often previously heard of in history, and by daring battles and deadly slaughter proved the obstinate courage of both parties; at last the complete emancipation of the blacks was proclaimed as a war measure; the South, a few months after, was conquered at all points; and for a time the Abolitionists, who had been long a hated minority, became the leaders of public opinion. During the war there had been a most marked change of sentiment on the part of many Abolitionists who had frequently for years before argued for a dissolution of the Union, as a moral duty to hold no communion with slave-holders, and also on the part of many who advocated peace principles. Nationality, and probably an instinctive foresight that their long fought contest against slavery must be at last victorious, were too strong for general or abstract principles of right or wrong, which had to yield at the moment of crisis to excitement and to the hope of conquest!

James Haughton was much disappointed by the apparent inconsistency of men from whom he expected too much consistency: he deemed that they were giving up principle to expediency, and he condemned the rejoicings for victories gained by the slaughter of their brethren, who, although slave-holders, were but little more culpable than their conquerors: he well knew that the Southern slave-holders were aided and abetted by the majority in the North, who detested the coloured people with a dislike unknown in the Southern States: he knew of the persecutions long endured by William Lloyd Garrison and others, who for years struggled boldly against the overwhelming majority of their nation—a

mere handful of Abolitionists in the midst of oppressors. As an advocate of the right of people to choose their own government, he could only condemn the Southerns as slave-holders, *not* as rebels: he believed that the political right of rebellion was only limited by the justice of the cause, and by the chances of success:[1] he did not see that the South had either good sense or justice on their side; but he felt that they had a right to their own judgment, and he could not see that the cause of the North was more just, nor that they had any right on their side until Abolition was proclaimed at end of the war: he could not sympathize with the Northerns, who, by their own repeated statements were not fighting for freedom; and, true to his principles, he must condemn them as warriors, and still more condemn them for slaying those opposed to them, and who were doing exactly what all united had done towards their mother, England—fighting against a union which they disliked! The political right of a nation to maintain its unity at all hazards and by all means he totally denied, and considered such question in every way inferior to strict Christian feeling, and to principles of truth and justice; and he could not acknowledge the right of the North to punish the South, even though the latter had been the first aggressors at Fort Sumter, and without consulting the Northern States had commenced to secede during the last few months of Mr. Buchanan's presidency. He published a letter, 26th January, 1861:—

'. . . . There is no question of such deep interest before the public mind at present as the agi-

[1] The *moral right* of fighting either to rebel or to suppress rebellion he totally repudiated (see *passim*); such antagonism to war was his strongest argument why the South should be allowed to secede.

tated condition of the "United States of America." The threatened separation of those States into two great nations fixes the attention of Europe. In Ireland this feeling of deep interest is especially strong; there is scarcely a family which has not sons or daughters, or other near and dear friends, whose interests will be seriously affected by the struggle which now agitates the free and the slave States. . . . . Principles so utterly at variance as freedom and slavery, operating in the Northern and Southern sections of this unnatural coalition, rendered it impossible that any real union could ever have existed between them, and their present agitation is simply the necessary consequence of an unwise attempt of the original founders to reconcile principles so antagonistic. . . . . Sinful compromise brought the parties together, and a similar attempt to overthrow everlasting laws of antagonism may for a while patch up the present quarrel. I hope, however, that the North will quietly permit the South to retire, and to bear alone the odium of all mankind; beneath which, and the awakened indignation of her four millions of enslaved brothers and sisters, she must soon retrace her steps, or fall into utter ruin.'

He again appeals to the Irish in America :—

'The Irishman abroad and at home who does not stand up for the liberty of all, for the black as well as for the white, is a dishonoured man. . . . . A friend in Canada has sent me a *Montreal Gazette* of 25th December, 1860, with an address by Thomas Darcy M'Gee, Esq., the well-known Irishman, and now a Member of the Canadian Legislature.[1] It

[1] Once a Young Irelander. He was assassinated in 1868, on the steps of his house in Ottawa.

contains sentiments which are an honour to him, and as an Irishman I offer him my warm thanks.'

Canada, at that time, was also sorely disturbed about the legal case of a fugitive slave, Anderson, who had killed an American attempting to prevent his escape, and who was claimed as a criminal under some clause of the extradition treaty between the United States and the United Kingdom. At first, difficulties threatened to arise not only between Canada and the States, but also between both and the mother country; but the points of law either went with, or were made to fit, public opinion, which in no case would have permitted the surrender of a man who only exercised the almost universally acknowledged right of self-defence when seeking his freedom. On this case, and on the general question of slavery, Mr. M'Gee commented boldly; breathing the air of British freedom in Canada, he was not affected by the moral malaria of the States, by which the fine intellects of many of his old friends had been poisoned, and whose degeneracy he feelingly alluded to, and at same time forcibly condemned, by every word confirming the absence of real love of liberty amongst so many of those who had been frequently entreated to support the good cause by James Haughton.

In June, 1861, he again appealed to the Irish nation:—

'This war has been avowedly undertaken by the seceding Southern States for the maintenance of slavery; . . . . and the Northern States are indignant, not because such is the object of the South, but because of the dissolution of the Union—this the North asserts to be rebellion, and must be put down by the strong hand. If Northern men came boldly forward with the declaration, that slavery

should be no longer permitted to exist in any part of the Union, the sympathies of the whole world would go along with them, but no such righteous manifestation has been made. . . . . I say to you, fight not at all, for fighting is a folly as well as a crime, and it is in direct opposition to the spirit and the precepts of Christianity; but add not to this guilt the sin of shedding blood for the maintenance of slavery in the land of your adoption.[1] . . . . The guilty complicity of all the United States in the sin of slavery is now producing the only fruit that could be gathered from such a course of crime. Terrible, indeed, will be the punishment, if repentance and restitution for the wrong done for generations to the coloured man be not at once made by this people. I hope the sword will soon be sheathed, and that the fierce passions now in the ascendant may soon give way to wiser and to better counsels. Slavery is the fountain from whence all these bitter waters flow—Peace cannot be where slavery exists!'

The illegal[2] seizure of Messrs. Slidell and Mason, Southern delegates or ambassadors to Europe, on board the British unarmed steamer "Trent," in November, 1861, by the crew of a Northern frigate, gave rise to a war-cry to revenge our insulted flag, and gave temporary hopes to Southern sympathizers. The peace party and the Abolition party in the United Kingdom at once bestirred themselves with their characteristic energy, to prevent an alliance with

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[1] Unhappily, many Irishmen took the Southern side.

[2] So acknowledged by the action of the United States Government, by whom (after some delay) "Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell were delivered over to the care of the English Legation."—*Times'* summary, 1862.

American slave-holders on *any* terms; and on this occasion as throughout the four years of war, peace and anti-slavery sentiments were needed in full activity and perpetual watchfulness to counterbalance the influential *minority* amongst us, who secretly and openly supported slavery, who believed in the political advantage to us of separation of the States into two antagonistic powers, and who were willing to unite with Napoleon III. in his avowed desire to assist the South by his invasion of Mexico, and the instalment of the Grand Duke Maximilian of Austria as Emperor.[1]

Notwithstanding his want of sympathy with either North or South as to the political merits of their quarrel, James Haughton united as a matter of course with the opponents of alliance with slave-holders, and with his usual energy assisted at the work of sending petitions to Government in support of peace and non-intervention. He felt compelled to write his sentiments plainly to many of his American friends about their civil war, and although there was no estrangement caused between men who so thoroughly appreciated each other, yet a temporary divergence of opinion led to a partial cessation of correspondence during the continuance of the war: their sentiments on the rights of man continued to be the same; their opinions as to the national rights were probably and unconsciously influenced by their national feelings. On 8th September, 1861, he wrote to Henry C. Wright.[2]

'. . . . The sword has ever been an effective in-

[1] Shot by the Mexicans in 1867.

[2] An American Abolitionist and non-resistant; some time resident in Dublin.

strument against human freedom, but in *favour of it*, never! . . . . One word on another point, and I have done. The North will never receive an extensive sympathy from Europe[1] until your Government declares openly and unconditionally in favour of universal liberty—until it says "No slaves shall tread upon American soil." Then, and not till then, will the world care which side wins.

'. . . . P.S.—You smile at my idea of a peaceful separation; surely the South would remain quiet if the North permitted it. To use your own commercial illustration, I would say to the South, "You have been always a disagreeable partner, and I am heartily glad to be quit of you.'"

In a letter to the London *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, October, 1862, he alluded to a letter recently received from an Abolition friend, in the States, who had also been a man of peace, but who now could see no hopes for the future except in victory for the North :—

'"We may not do evil that good may come." . . . . One of the results of the war may possibly be the emancipation of the slave. . . . . However disposed I might be to extenuate the act of the slave if he took the sword against his oppressor, I am clearly of opinion, that those members of the Anti-Slavery Society who started on the principle that moral power alone should be used, have made a sad mistake in policy and in principle, in giving the least support and countenance to a resort to

[1] This opinion was quite verified by the Continental Press, French, German, Italian; at first, some wrote hopefully of Northern virtue, but a few months caused a marked change and general condemnation of the continued support of slavery by the Government and people of the Northern States during the first two or three years of the war.

violent measures. . . . . I do not so severely blame those Northern men who think, with nearly all mankind, that the sword is a good weapon to use, but I think them wrong. . . . . Man's progress towards civilization and a purer Christianity is arrested by this unnatural war; but hope sustains those whose faith is firm, and she points to a time when the doctrines of the "Prince of Peace" will be accepted by mankind.

'I am surprised that my friend should blame the British Government for treating the Southerns as belligerents. It was no part of the business of any foreign nation to brand them as rebels: they were *not treated* as such by the American Government;[1] but even if they were, by what law of nations would we be justified in taking any side in the quarrel? We have steered an even course between the parties. For my own part, I think the Southerns entirely in the wrong: but I still hold the opinions which I expressed to Wm. Lloyd Garrison and to H. C. Wright, in May and September, 1861 (published in the *Boston Liberator*), that the dissolution of the misnamed Union would be a good to all concerned.'

In January, 1863, President Lincoln proclaimed liberty for the slaves in those States which should persist in secession from the Union, over most of which States he then had no control, nor any sort of authority;[2] but, some months after, universal emancipation was decreed by the President, who had been

[1] The North deemed it best policy to treat Southern prisoners as enemies, not as rebels, during the war: after the war—to the lasting honour of America—not one Southern was executed for rebellion.

[2] *Irving's Annals.*

at first so blind[1] to the real element of victory in the threatened war: yet his name will in future be associated with abolition of slavery in the United States, and he will be long remembered as the steadfast and energetic leader, to whose firmness in the Cabinet the ultimate successes of the Northern generals were in no small measure due; and if, on the whole, he was more an Unionist than an Abolitionist, it must not be forgotten that he was the first President elected, for many years, who, although decided not to interfere with slavery as it then existed, yet was equally decided to oppose extension of slave-holding territory in the United States.

The great disgrace was thus blotted out from the American Constitution; and the end was not far off of the war—which, although only commenced in 1861, may almost date from John Brown's attack with a band of anti-slavery men on Harper's Ferry, in 1859,[2] and from the contests in Kansas. Coloured regiments were levied, and did good service in the field; and the coloured people have been gradually advanced by law to equality of rights.[3]

It would be here out of place to relate the apparent equality of the Northern and Southern victories for three years—the ultimate successful campaigns of Generals Grant and Sherman—and the complete collapse of the South in 1865, followed by the steady restoration of the Union.

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[1] Page 155.

[2] He failed, was convicted, and executed in one of the Southern States.

[3] "COLOUR IN THE STATES.

"WASHINGTON, *Saturday*.

"To-day the Senate confirmed President Hayes's appointment of Mr. Frederick Douglas * (coloured) as marshal of the district of Columbia."—Telegram in the *Daily Express*, Monday, 19th March, 1877.

* Page 74.

One shameful deed had much effect in lessening public pity for the conquered States, who had so bravely fought; a Southern assassin slew Abraham Lincoln shortly after his inauguration to his second Presidency. Addresses of condolence were numerously sent from Europe; one of the earliest, of which James Haughton was a leading promoter, was from Dublin.

One great object of his life being attained by the abolition of slavery in America, he now gave more of his time to the promotion of temperance and the advocacy of the Permissive Bill.

CHAPTER XVII.

BUT to return to the year 1861. In August, the Social Science Congress met in Dublin; Mr. Haughton took part at many of the sections; and at a public meeting, with Lord Brougham in the chair, he gave an address "On the present position and future prospects of the Temperance Reformation in Ireland."

> '. . . . I was sincerely anxious that my friend the Very Rev. Dr. Spratt should have undertaken this task. I have known him for twenty-two years as the unwearied promoter of this first of good works in our city, and in many parts of Ireland. During the whole of that long period, I have met my friend almost every Sunday evening in the humble Temperance Hall in Cuffe-lane.'

He then alluded briefly to the gradual growth of temperance and teetotalism, and to the various societies in Dublin, and concluded with his then well-known opinion that, as partial legal regulation of the trade had failed to prevent its evil effects, it would be just and wise to enact prohibitive laws, as the only safe means to get rid of the vice and misery consequent on the use of alcoholic drinks.

In the autumn of this year he had a temporary attack of weakness, but although he had occasional

returns of the same affection at long intervals during twelve years, he enjoyed for most of that time good health, and took, as usual, much walking exercise.

Mr. Edward Senior[1] having been in the habit of walking across the Phœnix Park to his residence, was continually struck by the absence of all garden decoration, and being acquainted with Mr. Haughton, and aware of the part he had taken about the opening of the Zoological[2] and the Botanic Gardens,[3] they mutually assisted each other in preparing a suitable memorial[4] to Lord Carlisle; and through him the Government and the Board of Works were influenced to establish the elegant "People's Gardens,"[5] and several other ornamental plantations in the park.

The following extracts from a private letter, 21st December, 1861, do not need any comment:—

'. . . . The shortest day has again arrived, and brought in its train some dark clouds which cast an unusual gloom over the festive hours of approaching Christmas. Since receipt of your welcome letter of 2nd inst., Prince Albert has been hurried away by the messenger that takes no refusal.[6] This sad event has, I may say, thrown the whole kingdom into mourning. All deplore the death of a man so universally esteemed—called away from usefulness here in the very summer-time of his existence; a bright career of many more years seemed before him, in which his (more than common) fine intellectual powers and acquirements might be used in the

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[1] Poor-law Commissioner. [2] Page 46. [3] Page 137.

[4] Amongst the names were those of his Eminence Cardinal Cullen, and of his Grace Archbishop Whately.

[5] Lord Carlisle's statue, now in the centre.

[6] He died of fever, 14th December, 1861.

promotion of science and in works of social improvement. . . . . If he was the good father and husband we all believed him to be, his loss to our beloved Queen and her children is indeed irreparable; she will miss his wise counsel—they will suffer for the want of the only instructor who could guard them from the ill effects of that ruinous flattery to which persons in their high social position are so constantly exposed. The deep seriousness of his position will, I hope, call into useful activity all the mental endowments of the Prince of Wales, and make him a wise and affectionate friend to his mother. . . . . The apprehensions of a serious difference [1] of opinion with America, which may lead to a war, is a further cause of gloom just now; all is uncertainty in this matter. In the absence of information, the war mania which has taken possession of our people is a mad expression of animosity, sorrowful to see.'

As a testimony of respect for his character and for his untiring philanthropic efforts, the Lord Lieutenant, Earl of Carlisle, "expressed a wish (in February, 1862) to confer on him the Commission of the Peace for the County of the City of Dublin," and finding that it would not necessitate very serious responsibilities, or increased duties, he felt that he could accept the unsolicited compliment:—

'. . . . I beg you will convey to His Excellency my high sense of the honour he has done me, and my acceptance of the compliment he has so unexpectedly conferred upon me.'

He was thus, for a time, *ex officio* Poor Law Guardian, and then began to re-investigate the questions of in-

[1] Page 160.

door and out-door relief, to which he had already given much attention at the first introduction of the Poor Law into Ireland in 1838.[1] He never saw any sound reasons to vary the opinion that self-help, industry, economy were the true principles to inculcate—that all relief weakened independence of feeling—and that, on the whole, the workhouse test was the best means to modify the necessary evil of assistance to paupers. His practice through life rather weakened the effect of his reasons and theory; indeed, his inclination was to give too often to the ordinary pauper.

During the years he was Guardian, he more than once introduced the temperance question before the Board, and sought to impress on the Guardians and on the ratepayers, that the principal cause of poverty was as proper a subject for their consideration as the relief of poverty; and that this principal cause was, confessedly, the use of strong drinks!

He took part in the "International Temperance and Prohibition Convention," in London, on 2nd, 3rd, 4th September, 1862.[2] He was President of the Band of Hope section and Chairman of the Business Committee. He spoke, and also read short addresses at some of the sectional meetings, and also at the public meetings in Exeter Hall. He read a short account of Father Mathew's mission, from which one or two paragraphs are now selected:—

> '. . . . From the year 1839, when he commenced his labours as a temperance reformer, until 1843, when they had arrived at their climax, he had enrolled nearly six millions of his countrymen on his records of teetotalism. A writer in "Meliora"

[1] Page 42.

[2] Second Great Exhibition, South Kensington.

(April, 1860) tells us that the pledge card he had was numbered 5,682,623. For some years Father Mathew held the hearts of the Irish people in his hands; he swayed the multitude as with the wand of the magician; it seemed as if power from on High were given him to work the great miracle which he really accomplished when he converted the Irish people. But it was the people who gathered round him and threw themselves heart and soul into the movement: the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, and the educated classes generally, kept aloof from him; they stood at a civil distance, perforce admiring the man, applauding his wonderful works, and astounded by their magnitude; but they gave no *active* assistance to the good man who had exorcised the demon of party, and put to sleep the hitherto sleepless monster of sectarianism.

'Father Mathew certainly did what was never done before on so large a scale; he created a widespread enthusiasm, and for several years waged a successful struggle against the power of appetite. But when the *spring* which imparted strength and action to the powerful machinery he had set in motion was taken away, the opposing force came into supremacy once more; the roots of the cancer were not extracted; the strong fibres of the Traffic were left, and the cruel vitality of this destroyer is so strong that nothing short of complete extermination can save its victims.

'For a long period it was believed by many, that, moral suasion—that is, the force of mind acting upon mind—would prove sufficient for our purpose. Father Mathew's career proves the fallacy of this idea; that force was uniquely used in Ireland, and was found wanting in continuous power; it is now,

therefore, rationally proposed to add to this mode of action another force—the product of the general will, expressed through our Legislature; this we are bound to do, not less as citizens than as temperance reformers. The Traffic is not only an impediment to temperance, but a cause of social disorder and crime.'

A full report of the proceedings, edited by the Rev. J. C. Street, Dr. F. R. Lees, and Rev. D. Burns, was published by J. Caldwell, London, and the United Kingdom Alliance, Manchester.

After giving some time to the second great Exhibition at South Kensington, he paid a second visit to Paris; and, thence, with his son, went by way of Lyons to Switzerland; thence to Chamounix, and returned to Switzerland over the Col de Balme; visited Berne, Luzerne, Zurich, Schaffhausen and Basle, and returned by way of Dijon to Paris. He was well able to take long walks, and to bear the fatigue of excursions and of long journeys, and he was thoroughly delighted, as he wrote:—

'With the scenery, sublime beyond description—[visited by him for the first time]—which exceeded my expectations of even the grand snow-capped mountains of this glorious region of the earth.'

Of the view from the Flegère—up to which he rode on a mule, but walked down, and was much surprised to see the mule galloping and frisking like a goat down the steep zigzags of the path!—he wrote

'. . . . The day was one of those lovely bright days often waited for in vain. Mont Blanc and all the other stupendous mountains within view were seen to the very best advantage. The clouds rolling slowly about them only added to their sublimity,

and no surly mists marred the beauty for a moment. . . . . I have often said that fine scenery looks best in the shade of evening, and it was fully realized to-day (14th September, 1862). The retiring sun cast the most beautiful lights and shadows upon all around us, and we saw his last beams on the father of European mountains. A lovely and brilliant starlight now closes the charms of this most lovely day.'

During the forenoon excursion to the Flegère, he attempted to discover if our guide had heard of Father Mathew; but—

'After all my earnestness, it seemed that the only idea I could convey to his mind was, that I talked to him about Saint Matthew! He was not more ignorant of the existence of our good apostle of temperance than four Catholic priests who had never heard that our good Priest had lived amongst us. So much for fame. Such incidents should tell us that all our acts of benevolence should be *pour l'amour de Dieu.*'

He was not only charmed with the scenery of the lakes, mountains, and rivers, but also with the appearance of the towns; he was especially delighted with the Lake of Lucerne, the Bay of Uri, the Grütli; and, notwithstanding his horror of all war, he could not forget his boyish admiration of the hero of freedom, William Tell, and thoroughly appreciated the walk from Fluelen to Altorf, and was by no means ready to admit for a moment the modern scepticism, which pretends to deny everything:—

'Altorf is the town in which William Tell shot the apple off his son's head with an arrow, in the year 1307. A painting, said to be 400 years old, on

a pillar, represents the scene. . . . . We walked very slowly, as the grandeur and beauty of the mountains on each side kept us in a constant state of admiration. Altorf is a very small town, but seems to have no poor in it; the houses are all good, many of them large and excellent.'

He could hardly find words to describe his admiration of the Falls of the Rhine at Schaffhausen; and at Basle he wrote:—

'The Rhine is here a magnificent river; even the Suir at Waterford does not present so noble an appearance. I find it hard to be temperate in my admiration of the beautiful Swiss towns; their most remarkable characteristic is not their peculiar styles of architecture, nor the solidity of their buildings, but the absence of poverty in every one of them, which is so unlike Ireland, or even proud England; and this extends to the country also, which is a garden of beauty throughout.'

From this journey through part of France and fourteen of the nineteen Swiss cantons, from his conversation and inquiries from his fellow-travellers and the hotel-owners, and from his winter reading after his return home, he found materials for a paper read before the Dublin Statistical Society, 28th January, 1863—"Reflections of a Traveller in England, France, and Switzerland," &c.—in which he touched on the topic of the day, the land question. He mentioned his attendance at the Temperance Convention in London, and noted the general direction of his continental tour, and thus continued:—

'The impressions of a traveller who runs hastily through a foreign land can seldom, if ever, convey any really correct idea of the condition of the

people. Even of our own country, the conflicting statements given by different writers afford abundant evidence of the difficulty of arriving at facts upon which we may venture on conclusions of any great value in relation to this subject. External appearances must, therefore, often prove fallacious guides for enabling us to form any true estimate as to the amount of comfort and happiness enjoyed by the great mass of the population, either at home or abroad. Yet they are not entirely to be set aside as valueless indicators of the amount of civilization arrived at by the people among whom we travel; they give us some notion, by contrast, of the habits of different peoples in relation to their manner of life.

'Aside from his intellectual nature, man everywhere, as an animal, might not unfairly be characterized as the dirty animal. Most, if not all, other animals are cleanly by nature; man, in his merely animal existence, is willing to live in the midst of filth; in his person, in his clothing, and in his habitation dirt would seem to bring him no discomfort, but rather to be a condition of things from which he derived a sort of lazy enjoyment.

'Are we to conclude from this state of things, that dirt and nastiness are therefore the proper and healthful condition of humanity? I believe not; for I find in cleanliness one of the first marks of a growing civilization. Filth is, in great measure, the result of poverty—that sad condition which prostrates our race, and prevents the development of those manly feelings which constitute our true nobility. When feelings of self-respect are awakened in our bosoms, we shake off those slothful habits which render us contented in our misery, and we

feel the first impulses of that higher life within us which impels us onwards in that career which leads to domestic and social enjoyments.

'These feelings have been fresh awakened in my mind by a run of a few weeks in England, in France, and in Switzerland. In the condition of the people of France and Switzerland I saw a marked contrast, very unfavourable to my own country, and I think unfavourable also to England. . . . . My impressions might be summed up in this one statement, that I witnessed no such signs of misery, and destitution, and inferiority in the cultivation of the soil as so constantly offend the eye at home. . . . . In Lyons I was much struck by the neat and cleanly appearance of the country people coming into market, and with the good order of the vegetable market, where large numbers were assembled; the whole scene indicated that the peasantry, as well as the citizens, were in possession of much comfort; I saw not the least indication of destitution, and no signs of rags and wretchedness. . . . . Geneva has all the appearance of a prosperous and thriving city; I saw no mendicancy there, and, judging from the public works and the general cleanliness everywhere visible, I must conclude that neither the authorities nor the people are indisposed to submit to needful taxation for useful purposes. Taxes so expended are always advantageous in a community, and I am satisfied it would do good to Dublin in many ways, if much larger sums than are now devoted to the purpose were expended in cleansing and in otherwise beautifying our city.[1] . . . . From Geneva to Cha-

[1] True in 1863, and in 1877 also!

mounix most of our route lay through Savoy, the land of which seems to yield abundance; the crops of apples and pears were surprising, but the people not so clean, nor apparently so industrious as heretofore observed. Could the reason be, that less labour was required to procure the necessaries of life? Does man really need the stimulus of a comparatively ungrateful soil to make him an industrious being?

'At Chamounix, and in the neighbourhood of this glorious valley, we remained two or three days; and as I went much about on foot, walking for several hours daily, I had a nearer view of peasant life than before. And although here—as in all other places that I have been in my small experience as a traveller—

"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,"

so far as regards cleanliness; yet there is an appearance of general comfort, and the possession of the good things of this world, which I often deplore the absence of at home.

'The peasant seems to look upon manure as the grand *summum bonum;* he gathers it with the assiduity of the gold-digger, and its odours must smell sweetly in his nostrils; he has no more idea that it should be kept at a distance from his habitation than our own poor farmers entertain, and he usually lives under the same roof with his cattle[1]—and the interior of some of the houses I looked into had an unsavoury appearance. This, however, is not the general condition of their picturesque chalets, very many of which indicate a high degree of civiliza-

[1] The stables and cowsheds underneath or adjoining the living rooms.

tion; and the land in all cases manifests the presence of care and industry, and of skill in its management.'

He made similar observations about parts of Switzerland and of France through which he passed, and continued:—

'I shall only refer to two causes which seem to me sufficient to account, in a great measure at least, for the favourable circumstances in which the mass of the people in France and Switzerland (and, as I have heard, in some other Continental countries also) are placed. The first of these causes I presume to be the industrial education of all the people, from the cradle to the grave, the results of which are apparent everywhere. . . . . The second, and I believe the chief cause, of great immunity from pauperism in France and in Switzerland is the tenure of land. In those countries the peasant generally owns the land he tills: this gives him the strongest motive to steady industry; he works for himself and for his children, and *all* the added value he gives to his farm is his own; no landlord deprives him of the fruit of his toil. I need not dwell on the strength of such a stimulus. . . . . The rule in our country is the reverse of all this. . . . . The injustice of the relations existing between landlord and tenant is obvious to all disinterested parties. . . . . To me it seems a plain dictate of justice, that the tenant has a right to the *full* amount and complete enjoyment of all the value which he imparts to the land he tills. . . . . Value imparted to land by circumstances which the tenant did not control, such as discovery of mines, the proximity of new railroads, or any other like

causes, should be regulated periodically or as occasion might arise, and a just arrangement made between both parties. The Legislature should afford to the landlord ready and inexpensive means for the resumption of his land if the rent were not punctually paid at the appointed time, and in such cases the landlord would be free to make such arrangement with a new occupier as would be satisfactory to both parties.'[1]

When reading this paper he had expressed some of his opinions as to the deteriorating effects of out-door relief, and that it was a question worthy of serious consideration whether a good deal of the industry and economy amongst the French might be due to the stimulus of self-help, as in France (except from private charity) the sums expended on poor relief were small, and there was no right to public relief; when republishing the paper he added the following paragraph:—

'Some misconception of my opinions on poor-law relief being made manifest in the discussion which ensued after I had read the foregoing paper, I wish clearly to explain that I am not opposed to charitable out-door relief; with that, on however large a scale it may be administered, I have no wish to interfere; on the contrary, I would encourage the feelings in which it has its rise. But out-door relief, claimed as a right under act of parliament, is, I believe, a system demoralizing in its nature; an encourager of carelessness in expenditure; opposed to habits of sobriety and economy, and therefore

[1] Pp. 78, 102, 146.

productive of more evil than good in society.[1] Moreover, the great expenditure which it necessarily imposes, as exemplified in England and in Scotland, bears heavily, in the shape of poor-rates, on numberless industrious poor people, who in their pecuniary circumstances are not far removed from the line of demarcation between them and the objects of public support.'

Some time in 1862 Mr. J. J. Gaskin originated a plan for collecting a fund to erect a statue to Edmund Burke, in which effort James Haughton cordially united; in July, 1863, he again called public attention to that fund:—

'. . . . Now that the Goldsmith statue is placed on its pedestal, an ornament to our city—a work which foreshadows the future celebrity of our countryman, Foley,—let this other work of national honour in memory of worth and genius be soon placed on the vacant pedestal within the railings of our College, which perhaps never sent forth a more enlightened or abler statesman. . . . .'

In a private letter:—

21 *July*, 1863.

'I have just finished eight letters which I com-

[1] "As we stroll through the pretty village, the author of the Ten Hours Bill,—the man who swept female labour out of collieries, whose whole life has been an active protest against wrong in every shape—confesses that the difficulty which stands in the way of every attempt to improve the condition of the agricultural labourer is, the reliance on charity. When they have money they spend it, and are content to trust to the parish when the rainy day arrives. They have come to look on parish relief as a matter of course, and cannot be brought to see that there is any degradation in accepting it. To them the pauperising subsidy brings no shame. It is taken as a right."—*World*, 20th December, 1876, Celebrities at Home: "Earl of Shaftesbury at St. Giles' House."

menced last night, to noblemen and others about the Burke statue. . . . . I am now beating up for a committee to take charge of it: some considerable sum of money must be collected to complete our purpose. In a few years our city will present several testimonials in memory of our great men; O'Connell will be conspicuous among them, as over £5000 have been subscribed for his memorial.'[1]

In April, 1864, he wrote to the *Freeman's Journal* that, in consequence of the formation of a new committee under the auspices of Lord Carlisle, Mr. Gaskin and he had handed over to that committee the fund already collected. Notwithstanding the change, the Burke statue (by Foley) was not placed on its pedestal until the year 1868.[2]

In the autumn of 1863 he attended the Social Science Association in Edinburgh, and then travelled through the lake district of Cumberland and Westmoreland, to Manchester, to attend the annual meetings of the United Kingdom Alliance.

Of his labours in the cause of temperance, the *Edinburgh Temperance Journal*, 1st May, 1863, published an article, signed Thomas Knox, who commented on the want of general energy, and concluded:—

". . . . The little that temperance men do for the cause is often more calculated to starve than to stimulate it. Only think what could be done for Scotland were one hundred James Haughtons distributed throughout its cities and towns, all busily and conscientiously plying the daily and other newspapers with some phase of the question continually recurring in the natural order of public affairs. He has been another Father Mathew

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[1] Fourteen years have passed, some thousands more have been added to the fund—Foley, the artist, is three years dead—and no memorial yet in Sackville-street to our Great Man!

[2] Page 5.

for Ireland, loving his country with quenchless patriotism, and by his persistent letters keeping the lamp of temperance always trimmed and burning. But for him the cause might have flickered out. His single influence for good could not be computed. The moral spectacle of one man writing out his heart to his erring countrymen as a daily habit of life is indeed sublime. Devotion like his redeems the cause from multitudes of mistakes into which its followers may fall."

CHAPTER XVIII.

HE had been for some years acquainted with Mr. Corr van der Maeren of Brussels, and kept up correspondence with him on free trade and other questions, and he thoroughly appreciated the genial and enlightened conversation of that gentleman when he occasionally visited Dublin.[1] They were quite agreed on the principles of abolition of customs and excise, without the compromising measures and intricacies of treaties of commerce between nations, and that all revenue should be raised by direct taxation.

In Belgium Mr. Corr van der Maeren had been one of the originators of an important international association to promote "La Reforme Douanière,"[2] which met in 1863 in Brussels, and again met in Amsterdam (Holland) in 1865, with the more defined purpose, "la Suppression des Douanes."[3]

In April, 1864, Mr. Haughton read a paper before the Dublin Statistical Society on these questions, from which a few extracts are given:—

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[1] Mr. Corr was hardly more than an infant when taken from Ireland by his father, to live in Brussels; he is a retired merchant, of such esteem that he long held the honourable position of honorary judge in a court of justice on commercial affairs; he is now a hale old man.

[2] "Customs' reform."

[3] "Abolition of customs."

'. . . . The discussion of free trade, and its partial adoption by us and by other nations, has been attended with many beneficial results. . . . . The march of the great truth—that it is for the interest of all to leave trade as free as those winds of heaven which waft our ships round the world—cannot now be much longer arrested by cupidity or ignorance. Every impediment which stands in the way of free intercourse must be removed, and the sooner the great commercial nations sweep them away the better it will be for us all—the happier, the wealthier, and the more steadily prosperous our people will be. This grand consummation of the work inaugurated by the late Sir Robert Peel only a few years ago, will be for a while delayed by the timid, who are a numerous class, who can never step beyond a narrow circle, and who are always found opposing human progress.'

He then quoted from the *Financial Reform Almanac* of 1864 a return of imports and exports of the United Kingdom—

'For the year 1835, £106,831,113; and had increased in 1862 to £393,782,118. The intermediate years exhibit a steady progress from year to year. How immensely these great results would be increased if all our ports were free, and that no Custom Houses cast their blighting influence in the way of numberless floating messengers of peace and plenty from all the nations of the earth. . . . . These are no longer the visions of wise men in their closets, who long since presaged those good results, but are the seen and proved consequences of the wiser policy of our statesmen of late years—

the policy of free trade pressed on Parliament by the growing enlightenment of our times.'

He then alluded to the above-mentioned Belgian Association, to the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, and to what he believed to be the disproportion of the taxes levied on trade or industry, and on property, which amounts he quoted as £48,600,884 on the former, and on property only £12,196,929 for year 1859.[1] He then gave a sketch of a plan, suggested in 1831 by the late James Silk Buckingham, by which each man should select his own grade in the social scale, and pay direct taxes in proportion to his position in society.[2] After quoting the estimated calculations, he continued:—

'Mr. Buckingham's fundamental idea is, that all men wish for rank, and power, and influence in society; that this is proved by the universal exhibition of wealth by all who possess it; and that, by taking advantage of this feeling, it would be found that all would take the highest place in the social scale which was warranted by their means. As a general rule, men finding that the taxes paid indicated their station, would be just as anxious to comply with those necessary requisites of position as they now are to live in fine houses, to keep many horses and carriages, and to obtain patents

[1] Pamphlet published by Liverpool Financial Reform Association.

[2] A somewhat similar scale of voluntary payment has been long employed by at least one (if not many) religious sect, which has always had an amount of influence in the world, due rather to high character than to numbers. The present writer found a similar voluntary classification in some of the foreign watering places for levying the bath tax from visitors.

of nobility and other honours which bring privileges with them, and to possess which is the only value of great wealth to its individual owners. . . . . I now revive the idea for your consideration, in the hope that the warm sunshine of some thirty-two summers has so ripened the judgment of our political economists and other intellectual men, that they are better prepared for this intelligible and equitable mode of raising a revenue for supply of all our wants.'

At the unveiling of the statue of Father Mathew—by Foley—in Patrick-street, Cork, on the 10th of October, 1864, he gave a short address:—

'This is a glorious day, fellow-countrymen, for your beautiful city. You will kindly pardon my many deficiencies as a speaker, and hear me because I have grown grey in the cause of which your presence here tells me you approve, to which the honoured Apostle of Temperance devoted his life with an energy and a success unparalleled among social reformers in any age or in any country [cheers]. We cannot, my friends, honour and revere and love the memory of this great man too highly. . . . . It is to me, Mr. Mayor[1] and gentlemen, a great source of happiness to be thus privileged to offer my tribute of respect to the memory of the beloved and honoured Father Mathew. I loved him with a sincere affection, and I often still feel deep in my heart the warmth of the kindness with which he was wont to greet me. . . . . But, my countrymen, I had a higher—and I trust a nobler—purpose in appearing amongst you to-day. I hope something better even than the inauguration of

[1] John Francis Maguire, then M. P. for Cork City.

this statue to the memory of a great Irishman will arise from this day's proceedings. We are here to honour the memory of Father Mathew, and how can we best accomplish that desire of our heart? What would be our dear friend's wish if he were permitted to mingle among us to-day? Would he not say to each one and to all of us, and through us to all the people of Great Britain and Ireland:—"In God's name I implore you, and in the name of that Saviour whose followers you profess to be, I entreat you to banish intemperance and drunkenness from the land [hear, hear]. It is the greatest curse that can fall upon any people. It blots out the image of the Divinity in man, and leaves him the foulest creature that crawls upon earth [loud cheers]. You can only rid your country of this sin and this misery by getting rid of their cause. That cause is the drinking customs of the country. Banish these customs, and you will arise disenthralled, regenerated, free; and blessings from heaven will be showered down abundantly upon you" [loud cheers]. Can you doubt, my countrymen, that such would be the advice of Father Mathew? If you would then honour him in deed and in truth, inaugurate on this happy day the revival in Ireland of the practice of teetotalism, and hand down to your children, pure and unsullied, the white banner so gloriously upheld, while he lived, by the Apostle of Temperance. Let not this great occasion pass away without kindling afresh in our dear old land, enthusiasm such as burned in the hearts of Irishmen of all parties while he was our leader in the grandest of all works for the regeneration of our country [cheers]. Nothing short of this can save Ireland

from continued desolation. This hope brought me from my home; this hope cheers me now that I am amongst you [hear, hear]. . . . . I have only to add that I here represent the "Irish Temperance League," a fine association in the North, which has some eighty to one hundred societies in affiliation with it, and is doing nobly in our cause. I also represent the "Cuffe-lane Temperance Society" in Dublin, of which my dear friend, Father Spratt [cheers] is President. I wish that time would permit me to speak of him as he deserves: for five-and-twenty years we have laboured together in this good cause. Of the Dublin Total Abstinence Society, whose President, Mr. Brown, is now here, I would also say a few kind words. Lastly, I represent also the United Kingdom Alliance, proudly designated by Lord Brougham "The Grand Alliance" [cheers]. . . . . My friends, I have done. May the work in which we are this day engaged redound to the honour of Old Ireland in the present and in all coming generations [cheers], and may the name of MATHEW be ever precious in our memories [loud cheering].'

There was a vast assemblage of people to do honour to the memory of the good man who had been so well known and so highly respected by men of all sects, of all classes, and of all parties; but his good deeds seem to have been forgotten by those so often called the better classes of society, who, with some very few exceptions, were conspicuous by their absence. There were a few Protestant clergymen, and a considerable number of Catholic clergymen, but none of the high dignitaries of the Catholic Church.[1]

[1] See names in pamphlet. Hodges, Smith & Co., 1864.

In a private letter, Mr. Haughton wrote:—

'ST. ANN'S HILL,

'*Sunday Evening, 9th October*, 1864.

'We arrived here last evening before 9 o'clock. We had a lovely day for our journey, and the moon shone brightly as we drove from Blarney station—about twenty-five minutes in time. This place is one of the institutions of our country; it is nearly full, and is one of the queerest places in creation. Nothing is finished, but when finished, all is to be perfection. Dr. Barter walked with me before breakfast, and showed me the establishment; it is creditable to his taste as a designer, but all the work is done in the cheapest manner; yet he has laid out a fortune here. He is a man of very great energy. . . . . I am to have ten or fifteen minutes' talk to-morrow. The Mayor, the Rev. Dr. Spratt,[1] Rev. Mr. Dunscombe,[2] and I, are the only persons who are to address the meeting. I hope the day may be favourable.

The *Times*, when noticing above event, took occasion to laud Father Mathew as—

"A greater benefactor of Ireland than all its so-called liberators and patriots combined. . . . .

". . . . Father Mathew stands far above the vulgar crowd of teetotallers or total abstainers. He had nothing but the name in common with the fanatics or simpletons who would treat all the vices and diseases of humanity by the water cure."

And in the same strain was penned one of those sneering articles which were not unusual whilst the reform was unpopular with the educated classes. Mr. Haughton at once seized the chance of keeping the question of total abstinence open in the columns of

[1] He could not attend; Mr. J. Taylor, of London, spoke.

[2] Protestant Rector of Macroom.

the *Times*, and wrote a letter, which was extensively published.[1] He combated the attacks on the teetotallers; he quoted Father Mathew's approval of the Alliance movement; and he quoted the *Times* of 18th May, 1860, as having stated that a—

"Curious foreigner may, in other parts of the world, have seen the contortions of Arabs under the influence of hashish; he may have seen a Malay furious from bang; a Turk trembling from the effects of opium; or a Chinaman emaciated from inordinate indulgence in the same vice; but, for a scene of sterling vice, and lust, and filth, and frenzy, all drawn into one pit, and fermenting under the patronage of the law, he might search the world all over and never find a rival to that object of ambition to respectable vintners, and that creation of Middlesex magistrates—a thriving public-house in a low, gin-drinking neighbourhood."

His comment on this passage was:—

> 'A more severe, a more terrible, a more just anathema, has perhaps never been uttered against the cruel liquor traffic of these countries.'

He then called on the *Times* no longer to oppose and to sneer at those who laboured to overcome those evils,—a cause which—

> 'You yourself acknowledge to be of paramount importance.'

In the same year (August, 1864) he had published a letter on "Poverty and Destitution," which evils, he always maintained, were chiefly caused by the weakness and folly of individuals:—

> '. . . . There is no cruel fate necessitating the existence of poverty and destitution. . . . . As we walk abroad on the Sunday—that blessed day which God has given to man to raise him out of the mire of selfishness and continued toil, and to afford him aliment for his higher nature—we see multitudes

[1] Refused by *Times*.

who, in their attire and in their demeanour, give ample evidence that they have, by their industry, provided for themselves and their families all the comforts of life. Surely, that which many working men have accomplished, all might accomplish by the use of similar means. The same road to happiness is open to all. I therefore invite the strong to help the weak; the educated to point out to the ignorant—by example as well as by precept—the road which leads to virtue and to success. I entreat those to whom God has given many talents, to use them for the utter extermination of intemperance from our country.'

Notwithstanding his constant thoughtfulness and deep anxiety of mind, he had a strong vein of cheerfulness and hope in his nature. One sentiment in the following extract from a private letter may be noted as so directly contrary to an opinion of Dante, who wrote as an exile and a sorrowing man :[1]—

'*Christmas Day*, 1864.

'. . . . This is a bright, frosty morning, ushering in a day of rejoicing to multitudes. To the young and healthy it is always a season of festivity; and even to those who are in pain and affliction[1] it brings to mind some happy memories of the past, and oft-times visions of joy and blessedness in the future. So that, by all, this season of the year is looked for with pleasure. . . . . I have just finished

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[1] ". . . . Nessun maggior dolore,
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria."—*Inferno*, v. 121.

" No greater grief than to remember days
Of joy, when mis'ry is at hand !"—*Cary*.

reading for M. a very pleasant book, the life of Dr. Marshall Hall, by his widow. He was an able and an excellent man, deeply imbued with religious feeling and love of truth. May we all cherish these sentiments, and strive so to live as that our dear and honoured Saviour may present us to His Father and our Father with joy and rejoicing when our work here shall be finished.'

CHAPTER XIX.

ALTHOUGH slavery had been abolished in the United States, yet the work of the advocates of equal liberty for all men was not finished, and much effort was necessary before the coloured people received their full share of just treatment under the law. In June, 1865, James Haughton wrote to the *Irish Times* in consequence of a severe article condemning the conduct of the freed coloured people in some of the Southern States on the testimony of negro-haters :—

'Do not, I entreat you, cast your influence against this deeply-injured people. Their oppressors have trodden them underfoot for many generations, and are we, who have always been in the enjoyment of freedom—which we have not always discreetly used—to demand perfection from a long subject race? . . . . The uncorroborated testimony of the oppressors is of no value. Some men tell us that our own people in Ireland are savages—but they speak not the truth; the freedmen in our West India islands were alike maligned, but they have nearly lived down the slander; and so it will be, I hope and believe, with the coloured men in America, as soon as they are placed upon an equal footing with their white fellow-citizens in the eye of the law. Let us, at all events, hold them guiltless until they are proved to be guilty on reliable testimony.'

In a few months he had again to come forward as defender of the much-abused negroes. In Jamaica, in October, 1865, some dread of unjust legislation, or some misunderstanding as to the proposed measures, had excited the negroes to a riot, and some of the white people had been shot. With our usual mingled feelings of panic and daring, when excited by blood, and when dealing with a so-called inferior race, our authorities acted with decision and summary justice—words generally applied to the facts of killing first and judging afterwards! At home there was, of course, a wide difference of opinion: on the one side it was asserted, that Jamaica had been saved by the rapidity of the vengeance; on the other side, there was a loud demand for strict and searching inquiry as to the merits of the question.[1]

It must be left to the impartial historian to decide whether Gordon[2] was legally executed or illegally slain by the orders of Governor Eyre, as the Ministry[3] acted with a vacillation not uncommon amongst ruling bodies, and merely dismissed or recalled Mr. Eyre. If he saved Jamaica by daring decision, and by the just and legal execution of Gordon and others, he deserved reward and honour; if he were guilty of illegal and needless slaughter, he deserved to be more severely condemned.

The letters of James Haughton (of which he pub-

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[1] "A painful investigation has been rendered necessary by a negro outbreak in Jamaica, which has been repressed and punished by the Governor with extraordinary severity."—*Times'* annual summary, 1865. The severity must have been severe when the *Times* wrote *extraordinary*.

[2] An educated mulatto, said (and denied) to have been an instigator of negro discontent and violence.

[3] Earl Russell, Prime Minister (succeeded Lord Palmerston, who died 18th October); Mr. Cardwell, Colonial Secretary.

lished several) were chiefly to prove that public opinion was inclined to misjudge and to condemn the negroes too hastily; one short letter is given here:—

'*To the Editor of the "Irish Times."*

'SIR,—A word or two, if you please, in reply to "One who knows the Niggers."

'I do not write especially to protect the "niggers," but to save my fellow-men everywhere from the unjust charge that they will not labour with industry for their bread when they are fairly treated and honestly paid for their labour. It is quite common at home to accuse our own countrymen of a like disposition to idleness as the African race are said to manifest. I believe the accusation in all cases is unjust, when specially applied. Men everywhere are acted on by the same impulses: various motives impel them to work hard; amongst these motives necessity is, perhaps, the most powerful—few work very hard who can live by lighter labour. I think if your correspondent will read the few letters which I hope you will kindly publish for me in the *Irish Times*, he must admit that the freedmen in Jamaica have conducted themselves as honestly as labourers in any other land, and with as much fidelity performed their contracts with such employers as fairly performed their contracts with them.

'I am not the eulogist of the negro; I know he has many faults, but he has been long placed in an unfavourable position, and he deserves more of our sympathy on that account.

'Deeply, indeed, do I deplore the folly and wickedness of which some of them have been guilty

in Jamaica, and which I could not, under any circumstances, extenuate. But surely men in power, who have slaughtered hundreds in revenge, without due process of law, should be called to a strict account for their acts of violence. Our reverence for law and our love for freedom demand that we shall see neither struck down without just cause.

'Yours respectfully,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.

'35, ECCLES-STREET,

'*9th December*, 1865.'

He quoted largely from "A Winter in the West Indies" by Joseph John Gurney, and from other more recent writings, to prove the good qualities of the negro: in one letter he wrote:—

'I may mention that our countryman, the well-known author Dr. R. R. Madden, upholds the same opinion as Joseph John Gurney, of the moral qualities of the coloured man.

In his concluding letter he quoted from papers read by Dr. Hancock and the late Richard Hussey Walsh:

'. . . . The former is still doing good work among us by awakening Irish landholders and manufacturers to some sense of their duties and their responsibilities. The latter has too soon passed away from his useful labours; he was highly appreciated, while he lived, by many friends, not alone for his amiable qualities, but also for his gifts as a thinker and a writer, which were always used in the right direction. . . . . Dr. Hancock, in September, 1852, read a paper before the Dublin Statistical Society, from which I wish time allowed me to give long extracts. He asks the pertinent question—

"Have the auxiliary measures, necessary to secure the fair trial of free labour, been adopted in the West Indies?"

and he says, in reference to mischievous legislation, some of which he points out—

"Is it possible to conceive any system more artfully framed to prevent the development of free labour?"

And further he says—

"The conclusion which has been established is, that free labour requires no protection to enable it to compete with slave labour; that the allegations about the emancipated negroes are untrue, and the imputations on their character are unfounded."

These statements Dr. Hancock sustains on the most reliable authority, for which I must refer to his essay. . . . . Mr. Walsh read a paper before the British Association, in Glasgow, in September, 1855. . . . . Speaking of Lord Stanley and Mr. Carlyle, who had taken up the idea that the negro would not work without extravagant wages, of which idea they give no proof, Mr. Walsh remarks:—

"If the effect of literary skill is but to induce a writer to dispense with the calm eloquence of facts, then must its acquisition be looked on as a curse instead of a blessing."

'. . . . If the planters and authorities in Jamaica had been wise enough to be governed by sound and just policy, we should not hear of the want of remuneration for capital and labour which still reaches our ears from that fine island. Men must adopt the proper means, and comply with those laws which lie at the basis of human prosperity, or success will not follow their efforts. These essentials have not been complied with in Jamaica, and dissatisfaction among all parties is the result.[1]

'I hope the inquiry into the late sad transactions

[1] Page 151.

there, which has been ordered by Government, will be so impartial, so strict, and so just, that such a righteous judgment will be passed on the guilty parties—whoever they may be—as may satisfy public opinion that substantial justice has been done. Until then let the friends of constitutional liberty watch and wait.'

Reform of the suffrage had been moving forward for some time, and promised to be soon the most important question for the House of Commons; on this subject he wrote a short letter:—

'35, ECCLES-STREET,
'*22nd April*, 1865.

'THE SUFFRAGE.

'*To the Editor of the "Daily Express."*

'SIR,—In your issue of this day you inform your readers that Mr. John Stuart Mill would "open the suffrage to all grown persons, both men and women, who can read and write, and perform a sum in the Rule of Three, and who have not within some small number of years received parish relief." You look upon this idea as a proposition dangerous to the best institutions of our country; but, sir, are you quite sure that this plan would at once augment the number of our electors? and, if it did, in what way could the intelligence it presupposes injuriously affect the liberties of our country? It is some years[1] now since I advocated a similar standard for the right of suffrage, and I did so on these grounds:—It is the intelligence of the country which should govern. By what better means can we arrive at a knowledge of the exist-

[1] Page 140.

ence of this qualification than by the rule suggested by Mr. Mill? Men who have the desire to take a political part in the affairs of their country, and the manliness and industry to acquire the rudiments of all our knowledge, by learning to read and write and cipher, might be better trusted with the suffrage than thousands who now enjoy that privilege.

'If learning be valuable to a nation,—and who will doubt that it is?—would it not be wise to increase the reasons for multiplying that power, by giving this powerful inducement to men to cultivate their intellectual faculties.

'We have been long verging towards universal suffrage, on the ground that taxation without representation is an injustice; but it seems to me that those who are too inert to acquire the rudiments of learning do not deserve the privilege; while, on the other hand, it is unjust to deny the rights of freedom to any who are willing to buy it at the price suggested.

'I am, Sir,
Respectfully yours,
'JAMES HAUGHTON.'

A year later, in a letter to *Saunders's News Letter*, 7th March, 1866, he noted with satisfaction that the question of educational franchise had been brought before the House of Commons—(by Mr. Clay, M.P. for Hull, and ably supported by Mr. Gregory,[1] M.P. for Galway). But such a measure of reform was too plain, direct, and easy to satisfy our intellectual representatives, and the public time was for weeks occupied with a complicated Ministerial plan, which ended in nothing except the transference of

[1] For some years Governor of Ceylon.

power once more to the Conservatives under Lord Derby; and Benjamin Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, so managed his party as to persuade them to pass a measure (1867) more liberal and extended in its scope than that introduced by the Whigs.

The second general election (1872) since that extension of the suffrage, and the first since the Act (1871-2) for secret voting, resulted in a considerable majority for the Conservatives.[1]

Whilst electoral reform had been the chief topic in other parts of the United Kingdom, our Irish minds were more occupied with the land question; and various plans were suggested and discussed—such as the tenant-right of the North of Ireland, compensation for improvements made by the tenant, and fixity of tenure. A number of leading politicians invited John Bright, M.P., to dinner in Dublin in the autumn of 1866,[2] and James Haughton invited him to give him the pleasure of his company at his house during his stay. When Mr. Bright accepted this invitation, he was most probably unaware of the sentiments with which he was regarded by the Tory party in Ireland, and how ready they were to accuse him of disloyalty, and of association with rebels and concealed Fenians, and therefore that his visit, at the house of one so well known for his peace principles and for his loyalty, had a material effect on public opinion. The renewed intercourse of some days confirmed the high opinion Mr. Haughton had formed of Mr. Bright, when he

[1] M. Leonce de Lavergne has recently stated (1875) that, much as he dreaded the introduction of universal suffrage in France, he must now acknowledge that it has proved more conservative than radical: this he attributes, however, to peasant-proprietorship.

[2] The late lamented J. B. Dillon was a leading promoter, but he died before Mr. Bright's visit.

visited Dublin, five-and-twenty years before, as a delegate of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and which opinion Mr. Bright's public career has so fully sustained.[1]

James Haughton was not present at the dinner in the Rotunda (where John Bright made one of his powerful speeches on Reform, on the Tenure of Land, and on the Church), but he took the chair at a meeting in the Theatre of the Mechanics' Institution, Abbey-street, on the evening of 2nd November, 1866. It was composed chiefly of working men, assembled to present an address to Mr. Bright, who again repeated his advanced but by no means ultra-radical opinions on household suffrage. He also repeated some suggestions which he had already stated about the land question. Some of his ideas were, in a modified form, included in the Land Act of 1870.[2] He was listened to with attention and with hardly any interruption: but after his departure (to sleep on the mail steamer at Kingstown), the meeting became a scene of turmoil and uproar, promoted probably in part by a small Orange faction, but possibly still more by those uneasy spirits who were foolish enough to fancy that the Fenians from the far West were about to invade Ireland and to regenerate her without the aid of reforms from Parliament.

James Haughton, thoroughly as he wished for the advancement of his countrymen, never hesitated to blame them when wrong. He published a letter, not only condemning the disgraceful and illiberal uproar against free expression of opinion, but he also clearly repeats his hopelessness and disapproval of further

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[1] Pp. 62 and 204.

[2] But so trammelled as to be of little practical use.

agitation for disunion or separation of the United Kingdom, which opinion he had already stated soon after the disturbances of the year 1848,[1] and had several times repeated since :—

'MR. BRIGHT AT THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.

'*To the Disturbers of the Meeting in the Mechanics' Institute.*

'I would like to address you as "my friends," but you did not evince a friendly disposition. I would like to call you "gentlemen," but you did not exhibit a gentlemanly spirit. These feelings on your part I deeply regret, yet I do not believe you are entirely impervious to reason, and I wish to ask you a few questions, in the hope that you will consider them calmly, and that you now feel ashamed of your unmanly conduct. Do you feel in your breasts a conviction that you did right on that occasion? Are you satisfied that your conduct has tended to add to your self-respect, or in any degree increase your respectability in the eyes of your fellow-citizens? Has it tended to make men at a distance think more highly of the good sense and of the courteous demeanour of the men of Dublin? Has it made men of sound judgment, of any party, feel more kindly disposed towards our working men, and more willing to help them in securing for themselves—in conjunction with their brother working men in England and Scotland—some of those political privileges which they are at present deprived of, and which every one who deserves the name of a man must be desirous of obtaining? You received Mr. Bright in a manner

[1] Page 90.

worthy of him, and creditable to the working men of Dublin, but when he took his leave a small minority of the meeting changed their behaviour in a way that seems utterly incomprehensible, and instead of allowing the resolutions which had been prepared to be put, you rudely refused to hear them. Did you come to the meeting of your own accord to create disturbance? or were you sent there by crafty men who are opposed to popular freedom, and who took that unworthy means of lessening the effect on the public mind of a noble demonstration? The great body of the meeting repudiated your rude and unpatriotic conduct; but you persisted, and you broke up a meeting convened by your own class, in a hall and institution specially intended for the instruction and improvement of working men, by noisy demonstrations, which I might fairly condemn in the severest language. I believe that most of you were influenced by a spirit of fun and recklessness, rather than by an unkind determination to mar the effects of a popular demonstration, which, but for your unseemly conduct, must have gone forth to the world as a striking evidence that the working men of Dublin were not alone anxious to be placed within the pale of the Constitution, but well fitted to act their part as sensible men and good citizens. I do not know whether the spirit of Orangeism or of Fenianism predominated among the disturbers of our otherwise peaceful assembly; but if representatives of either or of both of these follies were present, I would solemnly ask their upholders if the time has not arrived when Irishmen should forget the differences handed down to us by our less civilised forefathers, and unite with the men of Great Britain for the noble purpose of

securing for all the inhabitants of these islands all the rights and privileges of free men? I once had dreams and fond aspirations myself for the national independence of my beloved country, but they have passed away. To obtain the realization of that object, all our countrymen of every creed should be in brotherly union for its attainment; but as this is not the case, nor now ever likely to be the case, it does not appear to me evidence of good sense or wisdom to continue to distract our country by efforts to succeed where success is impossible—impossible because of the want of union of opinion on the question. *Agitation is criminal where there is not reasonable hope of success.* Orangeism on the one hand, and Fenianism on the other, being alike sources of distraction to our country, I would entreat the working men of Ireland to take no further part in either of these follies, but to unite with their fellow-men in other portions of the United Kingdom in a determination to obtain all those advantages under the British Constitution to which, as men and citizens paying taxes, and otherwise sustaining the power and the dignity of the Crown and the whole nation, they are fully and justly entitled.

'JAMES HAUGHTON,

'*Chairman at the meeting referred to.*'

'35, ECCLES-STREET,

'*5th Nov.* 1866.'

Two weeks later he wrote:—

'. . . . When the Anti-Corn-Law League was in active operation, it was virulently opposed by nearly every landed proprietor in Great Britain and Ireland, and it may be averred that a similar unenlightened opposition was given by manufacturers and traders to the general extension of freedom of trade, under

the mistaken apprehension that their interests would be injured if the "fanatical" free-traders were to succeed in carrying their measures. Time has, happily, fully justified the beneficent and statesman-like views of those reformers. John Bright, in his early days, took a prominent part with those enlightened men; and now, when added years have more fully refined his judgment, we still see him the earnest friend of freedom and progressive improvement, and likewise subjected to the same unmeasured vituperation from those who are opposed to freedom. . . . . John Bright's land scheme for Ireland—like the free-trade policy for the entire kingdom—will, of course, receive its full amount of abuse as well as of fair criticism. If it be, as I believe it will be, a wise and practicable measure, it will by-and-by receive the suffrages of intelligent men, and prove in the end to be for the good of all parties, as free trade—so far as it has been conceded by Parliament—has proved good. . . . . These happy results have followed from reforms in our commercial code; still more blessed results will follow from those political and social reforms which John Bright and his associates are striving to secure for their country. We are the enemies of none—we are the real friends of peace and order . . . .'

It may be as well to give here a letter which he wrote two years after. He had frequently been obliged to contradict the constant misrepresentations[1] of the plan proposed by John Bright to enable tenant-farmers to purchase their farms, as occasions might

[1] So glaring as hardly to be mistakes; indeed, Mr. Bright, at the second meeting in Dublin (page 200), repeated clearly his suggestion of a "Commission to treat with such landlords as are *willing* to sell."

offer, by the sale of estates under the Landed Estates Court. It must be manifest to all thoughtful minds that the outcry against the idea of forced sales was without justification. Those who talked of robbery of landowners seemed to forget that the principle has been long since acknowledged, and has *always* been acted on—that the public take possession of land whenever required for the public good, in spite of the wish of any proprietors; and that full payment of the value is deemed to be honest and just compensation.[1] It is idle to assert that land is like other property, for it has never been so regarded or so treated in the known history of man; in old and well-populated countries the limited quantity alone would necessitate different treatment, and the human feeling of love for home is also an essential element of difference between land and chattels. But this idea of forced sale was not proposed by either John Bright or James Haughton, although the latter, in the following letter, does make allusion to the Prussian land settlement, which settlement, by the statesmen Stein and Hardenberg, is said to have had a material influence in helping to train the Prussian people to take a lead in Europe:—

'MR. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., ON THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

'*To the Editor of the "Irish Times."*

'SIR,—In your leader of yesterday, when speaking of the warm reception given to the Marquis of Lansdowne by his tenantry in Kerry, I find these words:—"The Marquis of Lansdowne is one of that class of landlords whose estates Mr. Bright would put to a forced sale."

[1] Generally excessive, when land is taken for roads or railroads.

'As you would not, I hope, intentionally lead your readers astray as to Mr. Bright's sentiments on so important a question, I write to say that from what I have heard in personal conversation with him on this matter, I believe it to be a misrepresentation of his sentiments to say that he ever suggested a "forced sale"[1] of the estate of any Irish landlord. The proposition which I heard him make was quite the reverse of that. It was to this effect: That Government should purchase the lands of such absentee proprietors as might be *willing* to sell, not alone at their fair market price, but even at a tempting price beyond that value, and then sell them in perpetuity, in such lots as might suit farmers who had saved money,[2] and who would be glad to become owners of land themselves, thus forming a proprietary of small landowners, who would be for ever interested in the full development of our national agricultural resources, and ever conservative of those institutions which gave them, for the first time, an abiding personal interest in the peace and happiness of their country.

'Irish tenant farmers cannot now have any such feelings of loyalty—none of those feelings which attach the agriculturists of other European countries to their homes. Many modes of remedying this unhappy state of affairs which exists in Ireland have been proposed. Mr. Bright's proposition would wrong no man; it would give joy and satisfaction to many; it is broad and statesmanlike in its grasp; and yet he has been abused for it, as if it were a

[1] John Stuart Mill did propose forced sale.—*England and Ireland*, 1869. Chapter XXI.

[2] Part of the purchase money to be advanced by Government, redeemable by yearly payments.

contemplated robbery; and the terms in which he made it misrepresented, as if for the purpose of bringing odium upon an eminent man who has certainly ever manifested a warm desire to bring peace and happiness to a long-misgoverned and discontented people—discontented solely because of misgovernment—and which discontent is injurious to the interests of the whole empire; and, moreover, can never be abated until just measures, on a large scale, be adopted for settlement of the "land question."

'Our landed proprietors—Irish and English—should remember its settlement in Prussia,[1] only a few years ago, and not drive matters to such a pass in Ireland as may force some British and Irish statesmen to adopt similar means for its settlement here.

'At all events, let us not attribute to John Bright words which he never used.

'I am, Sir,

'Yours respectfully,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.

'35, ECCLES-STREET,

'*12th October*, 1868.'

[1] Commenced 1807, and extended 1811, 1821, and further by the establishment of Rent Banks in 1856.—Pamphlet, 1868, by Henry Dix Hutton.

CHAPTER XX.

THE war of 1866, between Prussia and Austria,[1] only stirred the peace party of the United Kingdom to exert their influence indirectly to protest against intervention. At home, a few months later, they were energetically engaged to check as much as possible the revengeful spirit which followed the panic excited by the wild folly of the Fenian rising—if even so small a name can be applied to the petty affair of the early spring of the year 1867—when the elements themselves declared against the erring patriots, who probably escaped slaughter by a heavy fall of snow which impeded military movements, whilst it at same time warred against the half-clad lads of the towns who had been led astray by bombastic talk. Although totally opposed to those insane disturbers of the public peace, James Haughton was one of a deputation to the Lord Lieutenant[2]—(after the trials and convictions of the prisoners)—to whom he wrote on the following day :—

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[1] That war—undertaken to decide the question of strength of the two nations—ended in the complete discomfiture of the Austrians at Königratz, or as we say, Sadowa; Austria ceased to be part of Germany, and had to yield up Venice to Italy, whose attack materially assisted Prussia by detaining some 150,000 Austrian troops in Venetia.

[2] Duke of Abercorn, then Marquis of Hamilton.

'35, ECCLES-STREET,

'*Saturday, 5th May*, 1867.

'MY LORD,

'I was one of the deputation that waited on your Excellency yesterday to beg you would mercifully commute the sentence of death passed upon the Fenians. While in your ante-room waiting to see your Excellency the feeling that our prayer would be granted was so prevalent, I was appointed to be the medium of communicating to you the grateful sentiments of the deputation. Why did we feel so confident in the success of our mission? Partly because of the well-known kindly feelings of our beloved Queen on the subject of death-punishment; partly because we all believed your Excellency sympathised fully with Her Majesty in regard to the awful nature of the punishment; partly because we felt that it would prove a political error to make martyrs of these criminal and misguided men; and partly because of the day your Excellency named to meet us, the birthday of our loved and honoured Sovereign. We felt that you named that day purposely to do an act of mercy which would be peculiarly graceful, and that we should leave your presence rejoicing. I have now, my Lord, simply related to you the feelings which occupied the minds of the deputation. Judge, then, of our sad disappointment. I entreat you, my Lord, if it be possible for you to do so, to have this decision reversed, and that the birthday of our beloved Queen may be signalized by this act of mercy. I write this letter from the impulse of my own heart. I have not consulted any one on the subject. I pray that your Excellency may be guided by best wisdom in this awful affair, and that your own heart may feel fully

satisfied with its ultimate decision; and I subscribe myself

Most respectfully yours,
'JAMES HAUGHTON.'

"VICEREGAL LODGE,
"*May* 25.

"SIR,

"I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date. His Excellency desires me to state to you in reply that, most painful as it is to him to have to do so, he can only repeat what he yesterday stated to the deputation of which you were a member, that he can hold out no hope that the sentence passed on Burke can be remitted. With reference to the selection of yesterday as the day for receiving the deputation, his Excellency desires me to state to you that to-day is the day on which Her Majesty's birthday is appointed to be kept by her command, and that yesterday was appointed by him for receiving the deputation, solely as being the earliest on which he could do so after his return from England. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

"L. G. DILLON."

"J. HAUGHTON, ESQ."

On the 28th of May he published a letter:—

'*To the People of Ireland.*

'Public opinion has triumphed. No more blood is to be shed for political offences. No blood, I trust, is to be shed any more in these lands for crimes of any kind; or, if this great consummation be not already arrived at by the commutation of the death sentence pronounced on the Fenian culprits, that grand result must soon be accomplished, for public opinion is opposed to the death penalty. Saving the lives of these misguided men is not the chief matter for national congratulation. It is that the resistless power of public opinion has spoken, and has been obeyed. What is the lesson that we learn from this fact? It teaches us that we should rely on it, and on it alone, for the maintenance of liberty, and that it is a power, for this purpose, far mightier than the sword. . . . . Justice has no

power when the sword is drawn, and its edge is as keen—generally much more so—in the hands of the oppressor as of the oppressed.

'In the present crisis of our affairs in Ireland—when an unmistakable concession to public opinion has been made by Lord Derby and his colleagues—we are called upon to rest our full faith on this power of public opinion to right all our wrongs. . . . I have been all my life a radical reformer; I have never hesitated to avow myself on the side of liberty against oppression or injustice of any kind, and of equal liberty under the law; but I have always felt that moral force alone can secure that end.

'Now that physical force has again proved unavailing, I invite you, my countrymen, once more, to be wise and to give up all thoughts of it for the future, and to be guided by the wiser policy of depending solely on moral force and the power of public opinion, in which we shall assuredly secure the assistance of the Reform party in England, and by our mutual co-operation for worthy purposes gain from the ruling powers concessions not to be obtained by any other means.'

Against the Abyssinian war he wrote his usual protest, on the grounds of Christianity:—

'12*th September*, 1867.

'. . . . We are told that the king of Abyssinia has ill-treated and imprisoned some of our countrymen, and that he refuses to set them free. I presume this statement to be true; but we are not told what offences these men have committed against the laws and the customs of that country, which may have justified their imprisonment; and we know that Englishmen are not always careful to avoid

wounding the feelings of people amongst whom they sojourn.'

The *Times* took rather a gloomy view of the proposed invasion, and said :—

"Great Britain has never found herself engaged in a war so likely to lead to losses without any counterbalancing gains."

The losses we suffered were trifling; but although Lord Napier of Magdala most ably conducted his small army through an unpromising land, and successfully released the prisoners and captured Magdala, our gain was limited to glory—if, indeed, it be glory to shoot down half-armed savages!

A friend having informed Mr. Haughton of some attacks made in England against the memory of Father Mathew, he wrote to refute them, and gave a short sketch of his labours, and concluded :—

'*9th September*, 1867.

'. . . . Your letter gives me some intimation of the slanders uttered by an Irish clergyman, who may be styled a peripatetic maligner of his countrymen because they choose to walk outside his own narrow circle of intolerance; and who asks, in obstinate spiritual pride, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" You have given me this opportunity of defending the memory of that good man who not long since lived and laboured among us, and who, by his loving and Christian life, secured the admiration of men of all sects and all parties. It was never said that, in order to secure popularity, he gave up any of his religious or political opinions; these he was known to have faithfully adhered to, and yet he was esteemed by wise and good men[1]

[1] Page 69.

who held different views from him. He was loved because, like his Great Master, he went about doing good to the bodies and the souls of his fellow-men. His blameless life should have shielded his memory from the shafts of the bigot; but bigotry loves to stir up muddy waters.'

The double cause for indignation—respect for the memory of his deceased friend, and anger against Irish calumniation of Irish worth—gave strength to his words of reproof.

In January of this year (1867) he read a paper before the Dublin Statistical Society on "Co-operation as a means of improving the condition of the Working Classes." He had long hoped that this would be a move in the right direction, and he watched with much interest the progress of the various societies being formed in England, of which that at Rochdale was one of the earliest and the most successful. Many others have been started in different branches of industry, and some have met with a considerable amount of success; but up to the present time, co-operation between employers and employed has not become a very important element of social progress; possibly, advancing education may ultimately teach both classes to appreciate its benefits.

In September, 1867, he attended the Social Science Congress, in Belfast, where the Permissive Bill was actively discussed. Before he left home, he wrote in a private letter:—

'16*th September.*

'. . . . The only real desire I have to attend the Social Science meeting is, in the hope of being able to do some little good in reference to teetotalism, so that I shall defer my visit until Thursday or

Friday, as my paper is not to be read until Saturday; and from the programme, I find only 2½ hours will be devoted on that day to voluntary papers, and it is possible mine may not come on at all.'

He was able to enjoy a good deal of exercise, and wrote home of a walk along the shore of Belfast Lough:—

'*24th September.*

'. . . . I have time before breakfast to write a line to tell you of our happy Sunday. In the forenoon I went to hear the Rev. John Scott Porter, and was much pleased with his sermon. His text was, "Honour all men." He is an excellent preacher. After church I went with N. and N. by railway, to Bangor. The country all round is beautiful, and presents the appearance of great comfort. R. and N. and I set off for a walk of an hour and a-half. The Lough and mountains looked lovely, and we saw Scotland very distinctly. We turned partly through fields, where I had some scrambling over hedges and ditches, not quite consistent with seventy-three years, but I got along famously, if not actively.'

With some members of his family he made a short tour round the coast, by Fair Head, the Causeway, and Portrush—still vigorous on foot, and thoroughly enjoying the fine scenery.

His last journey to any distance from home was in October of same year, 1867, to Manchester, chiefly to greet for the last time his old friend, William Lloyd Garrison, who was then about to return home, after a tour in Europe and visits to those friends who, for so many anxious years, had aided and sustained with sympathy and encouragement his small band of Abolitionists in the United States.

Before his departure he was present at the annual meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance, in the Free Trade Hall, and was received most heartily with thunders of applause for himself and for the flag of his country, which was called for, and waved repeatedly.

James Haughton was chairman of the Council meeting, and met with the attention and respect due to one so long well-known for his untiring devotion to the temperance cause; he also spoke at one or two smaller meetings in Stockport and elsewhere. He met about the same time many of his vegetarian associates, and gave an address at the annual meeting.

He accompanied William Lloyd Garrison to Liverpool, and there took leave of a man who has made a decided impression on the world, and whose name must live after him as the chief leader of the long struggle against oppression in America. They never met again, but there was occasional friendly greeting by letter, and Mr. Garrison's letters of sympathy, written after the death of James Haughton, to his family and to other friends, did honour both to the memory of his friend, and to his own skilful appreciation of character.[1]

Mr. Garrison had been at the Anti-Slavery Conference held in Paris, August, 1867, and had given a short history of the progress of Abolition in the United States. The presidents of the Conference were M. le Duc de Broglie, and M. Ed. Laboulaye. James Haughton, although named as a delegate, was unable to attend, but he communicated a paper on the progress of the West Indies since emancipation, which was published in the report of the proceedings.

During the next year, 1868, he was more than

[1] Chapter XXIV.

usually occupied with discussing, speaking of, and writing about the temperance question, and more especially explaining the proposed Permissive Bill. The approaching elections for a new Parliament gave the friends of temperance the opportunity of asking the candidates their opinions on that question, but the subject was not yet ripe enough to be forcibly urged. The all-absorbing question of the moment was Reform of the Irish Church. In Dublin, one Liberal candidate was returned, Mr. Jonathan Pim; and Sir Arthur Guinness, Bart., Conservative. A large majority carried Mr. Gladstone to the Premiership (1868), and enabled him to disestablish (1869) the Protestant Established Church of Ireland. All the private endowments (about 500,000*l.*), and some other sums, have been handed over to the "Church of Ireland."[1] Some grants were made to the Presbyterians, some to the Catholics;—the balance for the public has not yet been announced;[2]—so that, although the principle of disestablishment has been so far conceded, the principle of disendowment yet remains to a certain extent undecided. On these topics he wrote, in a private letter, some months before the new elections:—

'*6th April*, 1868.

'. . . . The division on the Church question is now the topic of the day, and so far as I am able to judge from conversation with many of my Protestant friends, they look on the fate of the Church

[1] The clergy received annuities equal to their incomes, subject to the condition of discharging duty as long as they had health; or they had the privilege of commuting and compounding for the value of these annuities, and the Church Representative Body received a per-centage for completing these financial arrangements.

[2] Some newspapers have recently estimated that the surplus will be £6,000,000 in 1879; other papers only expect three to four millions!

emoluments as decided. It seems to me that the Church will be ultimately really stronger than ever; and I hope this result will in some measure arise from the elimination from their creeds of those damnatory clauses[1] which have ever seemed to me the chief cause of Protestant dissent—being, as I conceive, utterly unworthy the Reformation, the foundation of which was, "the right of private judgment."[2]

'. . . . Our late temperance meetings went off well; we were much pleased to have Sir Wilfrid Lawson with us.[3] He is in every way an agreeable gentleman. You would like him much; and N. would be glad to talk with him about Orangeism in the North, the rampant bitterness of which he seemed unable to comprehend. . . . . Lately a barrister told me that if the English Parliament plundered the Church of her revenues, Protestants would become Repealers. I said such a happy union of parties in Ireland would be a grand result.'

5th May, 1868:—

'Thanks for your warm-hearted letter wishing me many happy returns of this day. I cannot expect many of them, but as many as God may vouchsafe me will, I hope, be as happy to me as they have been hitherto, in the warm affection of my dear

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[1] The new General Synod of the Church of Ireland commenced in 1871; and in 1874 the damnatory clauses were condemned, and it was decided to discontinue their public recital. The bill to carry this resolution into effect was passed in the Synod of 1875 by a majority of 196 to 25, of the laity; 125 to 61, of the clergy; and 8 to 4 in the House of Bishops. This is a striking corroboration of the value of the above opinion.

[2] This is rather his own opinion of what the Reformation *ought* to have been, than what it was.

[3] Page 120.

children. . . . . I breakfasted with the Statistical Council yesterday, at Dr. Mapother's. . . . . The Ministry seem determined to hold their seats; they ought to resign.'[1]

He was not now the active pedestrian of past years, and had to content himself with drives and very moderate walks, but he continued to attend meetings, and wrote much as ever. On 21st June, in a private letter:—

'So you are going to have a delightful trip in Belgium; it will break charmingly the monotony of your London life. . . . . Having filled two of these sheets to ——, my hand is a little tired and shaky like an old and half-worn-out implement. My mind seems to me still young and fresh, and I still write much on my favourite topic, but my fingers tire sooner than formerly. I thank God for all I have enjoyed, and do still enjoy, in life.'

And again:—

'I feel able to attend to my temperance meetings without fatigue, and I hope some good is done.'

Later in the year, when writing of a proposed visit to the North, which he was prevented from carrying out in consequence of a slight rheumatic attack in the knee, he concluded:—

'The fleet in Belfast Lough has been a great excitement. It is long since I have been able to take pleasure from naval and military exhibitions: indeed, they fill my mind with sadness, to think of the prodigious pains that are taken by mankind for

[1] Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister on the resignation of Lord Derby, in February; and notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's resolution to disestablish the Irish Church, carried on 30th April, 1868, by a majority of 65, the Conservatives held office until December.

mutual destruction, and how little effort is made to instil the precepts of Christ into the mind; much is done to make men hate one another; little is done to promote love and good will amongst men, either at home or abroad. . . . . I learn from my friend Mr. Barker, of Manchester, that the council of the Alliance have engaged a Catholic lecturer for the Irish of that city, and that they mean to send him over here previous to our general election, at which it is to be feared much ill-feeling will be manifested. Our real evil—drinking and the liquor traffic—will be forgotten in the war of religion and party feeling.'

As the election drew near, he wrote several letters to the press: to the *Freeman*, 4th November, 1868:—

'The meeting of the Liberal party in the Rotunda, on the 2nd inst., will be handed down in the history of Ireland as one of the noblest demonstrations of enlightened public opinion that has ever taken place in our country. Intolerance was put to flight by a universal expression in favour of civil and religious liberty. The expression of such noble sentiments in Ireland—meeting, as they no doubt will, much sympathy in England and Scotland—cannot fail to secure ere long such settlement of the great national questions now agitating all parties as will prove generally satisfactory—the Church, the Land, the Education, and the Free Trade questions. On these questions our two Liberal candidates (Mr. Jonathan Pim and Sir Dominic Corrigan) entertain opinions in accordance with those held by the Liberals throughout these kingdoms, so that I trust they will find in Dublin that warm support which will secure their triumphant return as our City Members at the c

suing election. Two other questions of the deepest importance were unnoticed by any of the speakers —the liquor traffic, and its antagonist, the Permissive Bill; and bribery at elections. The Permissive Bill question is, perhaps, not ripe for discussion at the present moment, so that its friends must "bide their time" a little longer; of its ultimate paramount value in public estimation we have not a shadow of doubt; but the bribery question is upon us at this moment. Brother electors! like honest men, determine to do what is right before God and our country; let not a single man ask for, or take a bribe, if it be offered, but keep the bare idea of such a disgrace far from us. . . . . For thirty years I have been constantly among the poorest of you at our temperance meetings. I have learned to respect you for your many good qualities, I believe many of you have an affection for me, and I feel assured you will take in good part this appeal to you to rally round two liberal-minded men, who are the exponents of principles of progress and equal rights for all, and are the friends of civil and religious liberty.'

He had, many years before, suggested that the electors should return their representatives free of all expense. He concluded his next letter, 14th November, 1868, sending a cheque towards such expenses:—

'Not being in my usual health of late, I have avoided mixing in the exciting scenes of the past week, but my heart is in the Liberal cause. . . . . My earnest hope and prayer is, that our noble cause may not be sullied by a single act of bribery.'

A few days before this last letter he had written, in a private letter:—

'*9th November*, 1868.

'. . . . You are aware of the political state of affairs here at present. You have seen my views in the letters in the *Freeman*. All my feelings go with Pim and Corrigan, and I would like to subscribe to their fund, but I am in a great fix because of bribery, which, I fear, will be practised, and to which I could not consent. In the *Freeman* you will see an extract from an admirable pastoral of Cardinal Cullen on this subject. . . . . There is a great revival in the teetotal movement. Every Sunday we have now three meetings, presided over by Catholic clergymen. . . . . We have one Protestant meeting on Mondays, but a clergyman is seldom seen there. . . . . An American dined with us lately; I found him quite American on the free trade question.[1] Sir Dominic has come out strongly on the land question; he is nearly up to my mark. I have my paper on Free Trade ready for the Statistical Society.'

In December, 1868, he read a second paper[2] on "Free Trade and Direct Taxation," before the Dublin Statistical Society, advocating, as usual, the plain direct measures without compromise. He gave as one reason for again introducing the subject that—

'Heretofore, Irishmen, as it seems to me, have been too indifferent to these great questions. I desire to bring public opinion to bear on this apathy, or this indifference to questions of great public interest. How can we hope to be respected unless we take an interest with other portions of the kingdom in great public questions? Twice have I brought these questions under the notice of the merchants

[1] Protectionist. [2] Page 182.

of Dublin; but on both occasions I failed in evoking any public feeling either for or against the measures proposed. . . . .'

He concluded thus:—

'As the opinions I hold in relation to the traffic in intoxicating liquors may seem to some inconsistent with the views on free trade which I have expressed in this paper, I beg to offer a few words in explanation. I am an advocate for "The Permissive Bill." If that Act were passed, and the people at large were thereby permitted to decide whether the liquor traffic should be continued or abolished altogether, and that the majority voted for its continuance, I should say, in such case, that the trade should be open to all who inclined to embark in it. A trade which it is right for one man to follow ought to be free to all: but if, on the contrary, it was the decision of a large majority—which I believe it would be—that this traffic was a common nuisance, no one should be allowed to engage in it; for it is clear that if sense and reason are to govern our actions, no business which is more injurious than beneficial to mankind would be considered as a right and honourable occupation for any one to follow. The liquor traffic, taken from this point of view, and in justice to the safety of life and property and the maintenance of good morals, has no place in the category of trades useful in the sight of God or man; and it should, therefore, be prohibited as a curse to our country; but this is a question for the people to decide, when the Legislature gives them the power to do so. If they vote for its continuance, it should be open to all; it is not the business of government to prevent capital from flowing into any business which is engaged in under its sanction. The slave trade,

> once followed by Englishmen, illustrates my views: it was open to all, but when the mind of the nation was awakened to its enormity, it was abolished—not licensed or regulated by law. So it will yet be with the liquor traffic, which is a greater curse to these nations. Ireland was never cursed by a participation in the slave trade, but the liquor traffic has long been to her a source of moral and physical degradation; it has long been the great impediment to her advancement in comfort and civilization.'

He had often written, not only against "free trade" in slaves, but also against any direct trade—or, if possible—any commercial intercourse, with slave-holding countries: to the impartial and unprejudiced mind it must be manifest that the term *free* is totally misapplied to such trade. The other question of trade in strong drink is by no means so clearly a crime and breach of the first principle of human rights; but it is a trade which has always been subject to regulation, and it must be classed with various acts and transactions of mankind, some of which are restricted and some abolished by legislation—in so far as legislation has the power to abolish. If the people are judged to be capable of deciding questions of education and other local government subjects, it may be fairly argued that they should have the power of voting on a question of such deep social importance.

CHAPTER XXI.

DURING the same session of the Dublin Statistical Society, but in the spring of 1869, he read a paper on "The Electoral Franchise:"[1] he advocated, as he had already done more than once, the extension of the suffrage to all men who could read, write, and cipher, and he quoted from an essay written by Mr. Buckingham in 1849, advocating similar opinions; and he also argued forcibly in favour of the ballot. The latter system has been in force since the year 1872, and has so far received the approbation of the peace-loving inhabitants of the nation; and elections since then have been conducted all over the kingdom, with some few exceptions, in a way creditable to the good judgment of the advocates of popular reforms. Perhaps the ballot has not been quite so successful in preventing bribery as may have been expected, but perhaps, in time, public opinion will equally blame the briber and the bribed.

A New York paper, of 1st July, 1869—*The Revolution*—edited by two acquaintances, Elizabeth C. Stanton and Parker Pillsbury, made some comments on the absence of definite allusion to the "rights of women;" the extracts here given from that paper contain some of Mr. Haughton's reasons why the suffrage ought to be extended:—

[1] Pp. 58, 140, 197.

"JAMES HAUGHTON ON THE ELECTORAL FRANCHISE.

"Mr. James Haughton, of Dublin, Ireland, has sent us a pamphlet, entitled 'Suggestions for improvement in the Electoral Franchise.' From Mr. Haughton's standpoint, his work is excellent, as is all he ever attempts as a public adviser or counsellor. And Ireland contains no nobler son, no truer man than he. As the fast and intimate personal friend and admirer of O'Connell, Father Mathew, and William Lloyd Garrison, and constant and faithful co-worker with them all in their respective branches of reform, he has been for many years well and widely known in both hemispheres. And his great private worth, superadded to his world-wide philanthropy and humanity, has given him the highest place in the esteem and affection of all who know him. It is, therefore, all the more disappointing to find that (while with liberal hand and earnest heart he laboured with O'Connell for Ireland's elevation, for temperance with Father Mathew—and labours still, none more fervently and perseveringly—and with Garrison for emancipation in the United States, and is still deeply engaged for *man's* elevation and greater enfranchisement) he has no cheering and approving voice for Frances Power Cobbe and Lucretia Mott, and their brave countrywomen, in their labours to extend justice and equal rights to those of their own sex. On his first page, Mr. Haughton says, without italics:—

"'I believe that the common law of England declares that this right of suffrage should be possessed by *every man who contributes to the support of the government.* "Magna Charta" secured this privilege. This would be tantamount to *universal suffrage*, a right which has not been practically admitted in these kingdoms for a very long period; but, even if it were ever the privilege of *all men* who had attained the age of twenty-one years, and who were of sound mind, and not convicted of any crime and under sentence of punishment for the same, I am not now disposed to advocate its revival at the present day because I believe I am able to present to the Society a superior plan, and one less likely to produce discordance of opinion—a plan which, as it seems to me, would meet all the reasonable claims of the people to exercise the *natural right* of taking some part in the administration of the affairs *of a*

country in which none are exempted from the demands of the tax-gatherer.'

"Mr. Haughton proposes a plan of educated suffrage to his government, instead of the present property qualification, which, if suffrage must be limited at all, is the wiser, and indeed only proper basis. But when he proceeds to his argument, the inconsistency as well as injustice of limiting the right to men only, becomes more and more apparent. For he well and truly says :—

"'Perhaps the advantage first in place would be the stimulus it would give *to all the people* to secure the requisite amount of learning, which, when once gained by a large amount of our population, would no doubt create in multitudes of cases a warm desire for far higher education than the standard required. Thus an impetus would be given, which, in a very few years, would result in the attainment in this nation of an intellectual power hitherto unknown among us. This would crown our country with honour, and would tend greatly to lessen that soul-degrading and growing pauperism, and the alarming increase of crime, which are fast undermining every feeling of manliness and self-respect in many portions of the kingdom.'

"All this is admirably said so far as it applies, but where are the objections to giving the same undoubted 'impetus' to woman?"

The conclusion of this remonstrance contained the well-known arguments in favour of women's suffrage. His answer appeared next month in the *Revolution ;* two short extracts will suffice :—

'I freely acknowledge the justice of the censure on my paper because of my omission to state clearly and unequivocally my opinions on the equal rights of women with men to vote on all questions. . . . . But I am not altogether guilty in this matter, as your

article infers, for in my paper I include as privileged "all men and women who had the ambition to take some pains to acquire those elementary branches of knowledge which would confer the privilege of free citizenship."'

He wrote this year several letters, published in the London papers, to contradict some statements made in the House of Commons by that ardent Protestant, Mr. Newdegate, referring to the temperance cause and to Father Mathew. The following extract from the *Daily News* of the 3rd July, 1869, contains the chief point:—

"MR. NEWDEGATE AND FATHER MATHEW.

"We have received a letter from Mr. James Haughton, a magistrate of the city of Dublin, commenting on Mr. Newdegate's assertion in the House of Commons last week, that the agitation commenced by Father Mathew, ostensibly for the purpose of checking intemperance, was afterwards turned to political account. As one of the few men still living who acted with Father Mathew until his death, and as having attended numberless temperance meetings since, Mr. Haughton gives Mr. Newdegate's statement an unqualified contradiction. He says:—

'I feel that the voice of my country will go fully with me when I state that no man in this or any other country ever studied more carefully or more successfully to keep a great movement, which deeply touched the innermost feelings of the entire nation, clear of every bias of a party or a political nature. Of his full success in this respect I have ample proof in the fact that multitudes of men in Ireland, of the most varying political sentiments, and of every rank and class in society—from the peasant and the artisan to the first among our nobility, our clergy, our gentry, our merchants, and our traders—co-operated in a manner heretofore unknown among us, to do honour

to that good man, around whom breathed an atmosphere of love and good will. Party feeling lay asleep in his presence. I was honorary secretary to the committee[1] of noblemen and gentlemen for the purpose of doing honour to Father Mathew during his lifetime, and they could not be supposed to countenance even the faintest appearance of such unworthy motives as Mr. Newdegate is said to have imputed. I hope you will give this refutation of them to your readers.'

In a few days Mr. Newdegate wrote to him to explain that his remarks referred to the conversion of the temperance movement to political purposes—

"Not at first, but after it had existed for some time."

And further :—

"I never said that this conversion was originally intended by Father Mathew.

Mr. Haughton wrote to thank Mr. Newdegate for his explanation, but could not admit even the modified charge against the temperance cause, and quoted from a letter written by Mr. Thomas Beggs of London to Lord Stanley, December, 1856 :—

"The diminution of crime in Ireland, consequent on Father Mathew's labours, was greater than ever before took place in any age or country;"[2]

and continued :—

'It is purely in the imagination of these historians[3] that temperance funds were ever appropriated to political purposes; no proof of any such malversation could be adduced.'

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[1] Page 69.

[2] Mr. Newdegate, in his speech, had spoken of "serious disorganization in Ireland."—*Times*, 23rd June, 1869.

[3] Joly and Alison, quoted by Mr. Newdegate.

A few extracts from private letters touch on some of the foregoing subjects :—

'*18th June*, 1869.

'. . . . We old folks don't regain all we lose in time of sickness. I am now free from all rheumatic pains. . . . . I have attempted J. J. Murphy's book on "Habit and Intelligence," but it requires too much thought to be pleasant reading for me just now: it seems to be in relation to science something like metaphysics in relation to religion. I wish clever men could be induced to devote themselves to furthering the many works of practical usefulness that lie near at hand and need to be looked after.[1] I suppose Neilson is busy watching the proceedings in Parliament, and in supplying the actors with materials to work on. . . . . The Council of the Statistical Society breakfasted here on Tuesday—as usual, a very pleasant meeting.

'I walked for an hour yesterday evening; the sunset was beautiful, but rather indicating the rain which has since fallen.

'The Co-operative Congress lately held for four days in London was an interesting gathering, and showed signs of steady progress in the work of human civilization. It will take some time yet to tell the world, whether man is created with faculties to enable him to live out the grand conception of supplanting the competition system by one in which the brotherhood of our race will be the ruling principle of action. I have lately read with deep interest of the successful results of conciliation and arbitration[2] esta-

[1] See "Philosophy," &c. facing first page.

[2] Between employers and employed.

blished eight years ago in Nottingham by Mr. Mundella, M. P., and a few others: it brought vividly to my mind a similar plan which I proposed in Dublin some thirty years ago,[1] and which O'Connell read over in committee and said "it will do admirably when the millennium comes." That happy time has arrived in Nottingham, under a singularly similar system, which all the committee then looked on as Utopian. I cannot find that there is another member of that committee now living: it was formed at a period when trades unions were carried on here with great violence.'[2]

'35, ECCLES-STREET,
'*5th July*, 1869.

'. . . . After church yesterday I had almost my pen in hand to write to you when a newspaper from Thomas Beggs turned my thoughts in another direction, and I spent more time writing to a London editor[3] than was good for me, yet I felt so well that I went on thinking and writing for a couple of hours; and speaking afterwards at two temperance meetings has made me a little languid to-day. I suppose old fellows are liable to forget that mind and body must both submit to the encroachments of time; during the past ten days I have had more than average demands on both. One job was writing a letter to the *Times* (by request from Manchester), which I fear the editor[4] has thrown into

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[1] Then only talked of in committee, but afterwards he more than once suggested it in public.

[2] Page 3. [3] Page 227.

[4] Temperance and the Permissive Bill questions having become somewhat powerful, the *Times* now gives leaders on these subjects.

his basket of "Rejected Addresses." I have never found any favour in that quarter. . . . . Friends and acquaintances rapidly disappear. I often feel as if my time of departure was not very distant, and I strive to be prepared when the summons comes. I cannot hope to be able in future to do much useful work of any kind.'

'*22nd July.*

'. . . . I expect my correspondence with Mr. Newdegate is at an end. I wrote before I got Neilson's good suggestion to publish the names of those who proposed the pension for Father Mathew.[1] . . . . I usually get out every evening at 8 o'clock, for an hour, to enjoy the setting sun, and look at the swallows flitting about: by the way, there seem to be fewer of those beautiful little creatures with us this year than usual. . . . . Buckingham's plan of taxation would not affect injuriously the improved social position of any one who obtained a higher place by brains.[2] My essay on Electoral Franchise has been received quite favourably—with one exception, the *Revolution*, published in New York, Mrs. Stanton editor.[3] It is a friendly scolding, because I omitted all reference to woman's right to vote: it must have been forgetfulness while writing my paper, for I have long been a warm supporter of every right being given to woman under the law which man enjoys. . . . . We had a very pleasant evening at Dalkey and Kingstown; I walked over the hill and back without much sense of fatigue, and

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[1] Page 69. [2] Page 184. [3] Page 224.

for more than an hour afterwards on the pier. We cannot go underground like moles, as you are doing,[1] but we can enjoy the beauties on the earth's surface, and these everywhere are within the reach of all but the veriest grumblers who can find no enjoyment anywhere. . . . . The steady hand and eye of the teetotaller Cameron enabled him, it seems, to win the prize twice in succession;[2] every day almost brings me added intelligence of the sad mischiefs done by strong drinks: they are man's deadly foe in all ranks.'

The renewed discussion of the Irish land question gave rise to the usual variety of propositions on various points, and amongst others the absentee tax plan was again publicly discussed. On this impossibility, James Haughton wrote some letters; he was most decidedly opposed to any such tax, or any attempt to deal with a doubtful financial loss[3] by legislating on a word the meaning of which could not be clearly defined. To the editor of the *Irish Times* he wrote on the 20th of November, 1869, arguing that it was 'an injurious direction of the public mind' to assert that absenteeism was a chief cause of the evils of Ireland, and continued:—

'Absenteeism is generally conceived to be the absence of landowners from their estates, and that it is want of their personal expenditure and patriarchal care at home which causes much, if not most, of the poverty by which we are oppressed in Ire-

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[1] Metropolitan railway, London.

[2] Champion rifle shooting.

[3] It might be a social loss *if* the landlord would be at home a good estate manager.

land. . . . . Absenteeism, according to you, having a wider definition—for you have illustrated your view of it by reference to my personal expenditure —and in your opinion being productive of evils of a most serious nature from expenditure away from home of income from any source, how do you propose to get rid of it ? If it be an evil at all, it results from every act of travelling, whether for a month or a year! All the various trades-people with whom I now deal in Dublin suffer as much loss whether I travel in Ireland or abroad. . . . . But in your enumeration of the grievances of various trades and professions arising from such causes, you have forgotten the counterbalancing profits arising from numberless visitors from other quarters, who are also absentees from their homes; surely you would not call a suspension of all such delightful interchanges an advantage to Ireland or to any other land?'

A few days before he had finished a letter with a query :—

'If a man be allowed to own two or more estates, how long a time must he live on each of them every year in order to escape heavy taxation, or eviction, or public odium?'

In one of his many letters on the land question, he alluded to a pamphlet published in 1868 by John Stuart Mill, "England and Ireland,"[1] and expressed his satisfaction that a man so well known as a thinker

[1] Longmans & Co. From that pamphlet, and that by Henry Dix Hutton, "Prussia and Ireland, 1865," and that by Jonathan Pim, 1867 (from the commercial point of view), much sound and beneficial legislation might be learned.

held views as to perpetuity of tenure not unlike those which he himself had more than once advocated some years before. Indeed, Mr. Mill's statements of England's past misgovernment of Ireland were severe and pointed, and his suggestions for legislation on the land question were then deemed to be quite revolutionary. At page 21 Mr. Mill wrote:—

"No accommodation is henceforth possible which does not give the Irish peasant permanent possession of the land, subject to fixed burthens. Such a change may be revolutionary; but revolutionary measures are the thing now required. It is not necessary that the revolution be violent; still less, that it should be unjust. It may and it ought to respect existing pecuniary interests which have the sanction of the law. An equivalent ought to be given for the bare pecuniary value of all mischievous rights which landlords or any others are required to part with; but no mercy ought to be shown to the mischievous rights themselves."

And further, page 36:—

"The time is passed for a mere amicable mediation by the State between the landlord and the tenant. There must be compulsory powers and a strict judicial inquiry."

In fact, he advocated perpetuity of tenure, with compensation to the landlord by an annuity—

"Equivalent for the rent he now receives (provided that rent be not excessive and for the present value of whatever prospect there may be of an increase from any other source than the peasant's own exertions."

The last sentence is especially noteworthy; but it would give to the tenant, in the distant future, natural increase *not* the product of his own labour, so that Mr. Haughton's suggestion of periodic valuation has a larger element of justice. A few extracts from a letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, 11th August, 1869, will explain more clearly some of his ideas:—

'. . . . Some means must be devised for giving to the industrious and honest tenant such a right of tenure as may be consistent with the full demands

of justice both to him and to the landlord; such as will prove a constant inducement to him to exert himself to the utmost to improve the condition of his farm, so as to make it yield the largest possible amount of produce. . . . . One of the difficulties in the way of an equitable arrangement of this knotty question is what seems to me an erroneous idea about the rights of property. What do we mean by the rights of property? I hold that there is no right to property of any kind that is inconsistent with the public good. None of us have that absolute right to property which would authorise us to use it for purposes injurious to the community. If this be true with regard to all kinds of property, it has especial force with regard to property in land, which has ever been held in every country in subjection to the necessities of the whole population.' [1]

He had long before and frequently advocated the right of the tenant to *all* his own improvements, both as absolutely just, and for the public good.[2] He had also written in favour of perpetuity of tenure as the most direct, most just, and most easily arranged of all the proposed reforms. He now re-stated a plan for keeping intact the landlord's right to the natural increase:—

'. . . . What! It may be said: will you give the landlord no right to increase his rent when he pleases, or even at the expiration of a lease, if there be a lease? I say, never at the expense of the tenant; the rights of industry reject that idea; but

[1] True not only for property, but for individuals, *to wit;* taxes and juries are compulsory on all, in all civilized countries, and military conscription in most countries.

[2] Pages 78, 102, 146, 177, 205.

in the progress of civilization circumstances over which the landlord and the tenant exercise little or no influence are constantly occurring that tend to increase the value of land.

'In order to deal equitably with both parties, let an inquiry be instituted by a proper court, consisting of landowners and tenant farmers in equal numbers, to be denominated a Court of arbitration and conciliation. One such court in each province should—say every twenty years—ascertain this increased value, to be divided equitably between them; and the amount awarded to the landlord should be paid by the tenant in cash, or its equivalent in an increase of rent: thus, full justice would be done in all future time to both.'

In a letter to the "Irish Tenant League," 10th December, 1869, he re-stated above opinions, and touching on the tenant's duties, he said:—

'. . . . I would leave to the tenants full power to cultivate their farms according to the best of their judgment, subject to no condition save punctuality in payment of the rent, and one other prohibiting subdivision of the holding without consent of the landlord. In case of any want of punctuality in payment of the rent, the law should, by a speedy and inexpensive process, secure the landlord, if he so desired, in the re-possession of the farm; this want of punctuality would, I believe, seldom occur under the plan I propose, and the good tenant, who honestly performed his contract, would virtually have a perpetual tenure of his farm; he would, at all events, have the legal right to such full and equitable compensation for his improvements,[1] that

[1] Page 238.

it would be his interest to make his farm as productive as possible, and to keep it always in the highest condition, which is just what the country demands, and has the deepest interest in, in order to secure the largest supply of food permanently that our fertile soil is capable of yielding. The careless or inefficient tenant, who did not fulfil his contract, should be dispossessed of his farm, and make way for a better man.'

He then continued to explain the details, and alluded to the Nottingham system of arbitration,[1] urged the necessity of reliance on moral force alone, which had gained so much power by the recent extension of the suffrage,[2] and concluded:—

'. . . . I have now only to express my hope that wisdom may guide the counsels of the "Irish Tenant League," that great care may be observed in your deliberations to avoid words of bitterness, such as might mar the noble object you have in view—of giving peace to our country, and greater prosperity not alone to her farmers, but also to the labourers who till their lands, and whose low condition needs and deserves amelioration.'

It may be as well to give here some of his remarks on the Land Act for Ireland passed next year: he concluded a short note to Sir John Gray, 7th May, 1870:

'. . . . To me, the number of clauses in the Government plan seems only calculated to do mischief."

In another private letter, 3rd July:—

'. . . . Gladstone might as well have taken up

[1] Page 230. [2] 1867, page 199.

some such simple principle as mine for settlement of the land question; he would have fared as well with our hereditary legislators as he has done with his more elaborate measures."[1]

The Act above mentioned was carried by W. E. Gladstone's ministry, of which John Bright was a member: it established as legal the tenant-right so long recognized by custom in the North of Ireland, and it gave in the counties where such custom was not established, compensation to tenant farmers for improvements, and also compensation for disturbance to those compelled to surrender their holdings. So far, (1877), the measure has proved to be as successful as compromises generally are; although some modifications and improvements are demanded, and will probably, in time, be enacted, yet, on the whole, the farmers, who as a class are steadily becoming rich, are fairly contented; there are now very few of the agrarian outrages which so long disgraced us; and the landowners, although at first very much dissatisfied, seem to be gradually discovering that they will not be losers in the long run, and that the decisions of the Chairmen of our Counties are not unjust to either party.[2]

In the early part of the year 1869 the Government had released some of the prisoners in custody since 1867, who were convicted for the Fenian disturbances of that year; those deemed most guilty were not released, but a considerable portion of the community believed that it would be a politic as well as merciful act to extend the pardon to them also. Although

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[1] Some opposition in the House of Lords.

[2] If landlord and tenant disagree, the question is first decided in the County Courts. There is now some agitation for perpetuity of tenure, 1877.

both Father Spratt and James Haughton disapproved completely of the senseless resort to violent measures, yet they lent their aid to the movement on the side of clemency, and prepared a petition, which was adopted at a meeting in Cuffe-lane, 20th Sept., 1869, and forwarded to Mr. Gladstone, for presentation to Her Majesty. Mr. Haughton, amongst other remarks, said:—

> 'I have not until now taken any public part in promoting this object, because I believed that on some occasions language was used and ideas suggested calculated to defeat the good object in view. . . . . The prisoners were guilty of a great crime, but I believe that they acted under the influence of warm, patriotic, but very mistaken feelings; and I believe that their pardon would be looked upon as an act of magnanimity on the part of our rulers, and be received with feelings of gratitude and satisfaction by a large portion of the people of Ireland.'

These few sentences contain the main points of the petition: the *Freeman's Journal* remarks as follows:—

> "We wish to direct attention to the memorial to Her Majesty, adopted at a recent meeting of the Irish Total Abstinence Society, in behalf of the political prisoners. We mean, however, to do no more than to ask the Irish people to read it, for we feel we could add nothing to the power of its simplicity or to the eloquence of its frankness. It is a document that should command not only the attention but the compliance of the Sovereign. Had the tone, feeling, and judgment which characterise it marked, more prominently, the movement in behalf of a general amnesty, we sincerely believe the prisoners would have been, long since, liberated. It may not be too late to try the effect of respectful and honest moderation when appealing to the authorities for clemency to those who loved their country not wisely. We trust that the modest, but powerful—moderate, but manly—respectful, but not fawning—memorial of the Irish Total Abstinence Society will convince Her Majesty that, to use its own happy phraseology, 'the wise exercise of mercy is the most glorious act of sovereign power.'"

The foregoing comments may be taken as the gene-

ral tone of approbation from people of rational minds; some few of the hottest Nationalists were dissatisfied that anything should be asked of England, but it is evident that if a party be neither strong enough to release prisoners by physical force, nor to outvote a Ministry in the House of Commons, it might be better and kinder towards those suffering punishment to petition for their pardon, rather than to act so as to make such pardon more difficult. The Ministry neither yielded to the demands, nor the petitions, at that time; and some of those prisoners still remain unreleased.

The subject of compulsory vaccination had been for some time exciting much attention: the arguments for and against were strongly urged, and the facts seemed to be so balanced as hardly to warrant the law which created criminals of those persons who refused to subject their children to what they believed to be a serious risk. James Haughton held the opinion that it should not be compulsory, but that vaccination should be performed *gratis* (as at present) for the poor who might desire it: a few extracts from letters published in the *Anti-Vaccinator*, give his opinion clearly:—

'12*th October*, 1869.

'. . . . I have declined to join the anti-vaccination outcry, on the ground that it is inquiring into the results of the compulsory law which we need, and not a hasty conclusion that it should be repealed. I have written to Mr. Pitman to that effect, pointing out to him that I had heard that small-pox was now little known in Ireland, and that the reasons for better results here[1] than in England

[1] Increase of small-pox in Ireland, a few years later, rather puzzled the *pro*-vaccinators.

should be inquired into. It is a matter of so much public importance, that it will not be allowed to rest; and from what I have read on the subject, I am now very much inclined to the opinion that the compulsory law is not warranted, and that further knowledge may reveal to us the sad fact that inoculation and vaccination are productive of evil, and no good, in the community.'

Medical men—possibly a large majority of them—maintained that the decrease of small-pox was due to vaccination; others asserted that the recurrence of the disease during recent years proved either that vaccination had lost its preventive effect, or that it was injudiciously used in consequence of the impossibility of procuring enough of the pure vaccine matter:[1] another, and the very serious objection, was the tolerably well-established risk of the transference of other diseases from unhealthy persons from whom the vaccine matter was taken. With regard to the diminution of small-pox since Jenner's discovery, it is asserted by anti-vaccinators that the change was due, both to the common law of the variation of diseases, and also to the fact that inoculation—or the artificial propagation of small-pox—was given up at the time when vaccination became general. After some months' reading, Mr. Haughton's opinions were more decided. 21st May, 1870, he wrote again in *Anti-Vaccinator*:—

'There is, beyond all question, a great difference of opinion among medical men regarding the real value of vaccination as a preventive of small-pox; and as under such circumstances a compul-

[1] Belgian medical men have been, of late years, endeavouring to keep up a supply of pure cow-pock by infecting calves with the pure pock, to be used directly from them, and not transferred from one child to another, 1877.

sory law is evidently a severe, if not altogether unjustifiable, stretch of parliamentary power, every lawful means of resistance to an Act so repulsive to the feelings of many parents may be properly resorted to. I have observed frequently in the *Co-operator and Herald of Health* that parents have been subjected to fine and imprisonment for refusing to comply with this arbitrary enactment. . . . . It has occurred to me that a clever lawyer might defeat such proceedings by obliging the prosecutors to prove the purity of the vaccine matter which the operator proposed to employ; perhaps, in many (or in most) cases it would be impossible to give such evidence; and, failing in this, the prosecution would fail.'

His national feelings and his sense of justice were stirred up by what seemed to him a needless onslaught against Catholicism, in the *Christian Freeman* of London, October, 1869. An article entitled "Moral Results of Romanism" gave a heavy list of homicides, murders, and other crimes in Ireland and other Roman Catholic countries, in comparison with Protestant England. He wrote, 30th October, 1869:—

'. . . . I regretted to see an article so hostile to the largest section of the Christian Church, and written in a spirit calculated to wound the feelings of our Roman Catholic brethren, in an Unitarian publication.'

He then showed, on the undoubted authority of Dr. Hancock's judicial statistics for the year 1867, that the comparison made as regards Ireland was quite incorrect, and that as to indictable offences[1] summa-

[1] Such offences in Ireland, in 1867, *less* than those in an *equal* population in England and Wales in 1866—4042.

rily dealt with, and also as to murders,[1] Ireland contrasted most favourably with England. He not unfairly judged that the accuser was equally incorrect with regard to other Catholic countries, and concluded :—

'Such comparisons as you have instituted are unkind and irritating, and I believe calculated to do mischief instead of good, and are altogether unjustifiable if not absolutely correct.

'Protestantism has not produced such happy moral results anywhere as to give its professors any right whatever to exult over those who hold the Roman Catholic doctrine. We should hang our heads with shame at the small amount of good yet effected by the Reformation, and strive to mend our own ways, rather than cast censure on others; and not less than any other nation is England called upon to "Take the beam out of her own eye."[2]

He was not sparing of blame to Irishmen when in fault, and he had often stated his opinion clearly about those who disgraced us; but he could not quietly listen to an unjust attack, especially from a quarter where he expected more enlightened judgment.

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[1] Murders in Ireland, in 1867, *less* than those in an *equal* population in England and Wales, in 1866—41.

[2] "The Irish have, indeed, their own peculiar weaknesses in respect to the observance of the law, but there is certainly a remarkable absence among them of the grosser offences which are such a disgrace to portions of our population in England."—From a leader in the *Times*, London, 26th February, 1877, on the Spring Assizes, &c.

CHAPTER XXII.

DURING the year 1870 he continued to enjoy very tolerable health, and took a fair amount of bodily exercise; attending meetings as usual, and speaking and writing a good deal, chiefly on temperance. Several of his letters were published in the *British Medical Journal*, the *Dublin Medical Press*, and other medical papers; and he drew out the opinions of many medical men as to the use of alcoholic drinks in health and disease. One important moral query was much discussed in the press of all parties—whether doctors were bound to consider the risk of exciting a dangerous passion for intoxicating liquors, or whether they were merely bound to consider the best means to employ to cure or to alleviate the disease under which their patient at the moment was suffering? And on this question as on most others the difference of opinion was material. An able and impartial article entitled "Doctors and Water Drinkers" appeared in the *British Medical Journal* of 4th June, 1870. The writer acknowledged the immense moral evil, and also the physical evil:—

"Visit the physicians' wards at a hospital; sit by the side of a magistrate at Petty Sessions; walk through the poorer streets of any British town on Saturday night; examine the registers of prisons, workhouses, and lunatic asylums; converse with working clergymen and sisters of charity; take your evidence, indeed, where you like, you will have the same fact forced upon you—that prominent amongst the causes of human misery, in all its legion forms, is DRINK."

But the same writer argued with much force in favour of the use, as medicine or restoratives, of these drinks. Mr. Haughton sent an answer, which was published on 25th June. One extract will be sufficient.

'You say—

"The question has never been put to the sixteen thousand British doctors—Are you of opinion that the general health would be hurt or helped by the universal abandonment of alcohol as a beverage?"

'This statement, although it is probably literally true, must be made with some limitation. Several years ago, an Edinburgh gentleman (Mr. John Dunlop, I think) applied extensively to the medical men in these kingdoms, to give him their opinion on the subject; two thousand of them responded, by signing the following statements, every one of them in our favour; and not one of these men, many of whom are yet living, and are of the highest eminence in their profession, has ever, I believe, withdrawn his name from the document.

"*Medical Declaration*, signed by upwards of two thousand medical men, including many of the leading members of the profession.—We are of opinion—1. That a very large portion of human misery, including poverty, disease, and crime, is induced by the use of alcohol or fermented liquors as beverages.

"2. That the most perfect health is compatible with total abstinence from all such beverages, whether in the form of ardent spirits, or as wine, beer, ale, porter, cider, etc., etc.

"3. That persons accustomed to such drinks may, with perfect safety, discontinue them entirely, either at once, or gradually after a short time.

"4. That total and universal abstinence from alcoholic liquors, and intoxicating beverages of all sorts, would greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, the morality, and the happiness of the human race."[1]

'I ask you, sir, in all candour, does not this docu-

[1] Page 91.

ment fully justify teetotallers in stating, in the strongest manner, that their arguments are sustained, not alone by the few honoured names you mention, but by one-eighth part of the entire profession in these kingdoms? This is surely a sufficient justification of even the strongest statements ever made by teetotallers against the use of alcoholic liquors by men in health, and, may I not add, in disease also.'

He sent this letter to many provincial papers for re-publication, and called express attention to the conclusion of the first-named article of 4th June:—

"Upon members of our own profession we would earnestly urge our conviction, that, in reference to the health of the community, the use and abuse of alcohol takes precedence in importance of all other sanitary questions; the more it is examined the wider its range is found to be. We owe it alike to ourselves and to our employers to investigate every obtainable fact respecting it with the utmost care. We owe it in a yet stronger sense to our own conscience, whilst the question is still *sub judice*, to guard most scrupulously the terms in which we recommend alcoholic remedies to our patients. In many instances, it is very possible that the physical good to be obtained is trivially small, and weighs not a feather against the moral evil which may result from our too thoughtless advice."

On this he commented:—

'The article occupies more than four columns of the *British Medical Journal*. The quotation from its concluding paragraph will serve to show the value which this able writer attaches to a serious consideration of the abuses arising from an inconsiderate use of alcoholic liquors. They are weighty words, and should have great influence not alone on doctors and their patients, but also on the entire community.'

On the subject of medical influence he had already more than once written. Alluding to the trusted position which was held by medical men in

every family, he concluded one letter, some years before:—

'. . . . It will be up-hill work with the advocates of teetotalism, until physicians shall be persuaded to practise the doctrine, that while alcohol may sometimes be used with advantage as a medicine if administered with the utmost caution, it is always a dangerous luxury to tamper with in health. I have many friends amongst medical men whom I honour and esteem very highly; there is no more unselfish body of men to be found than our physicians. They give much of their time gratuitously to the poor, whom, as well as the rich, they often lead into temptation.[1] They all admit the innumerable moral evils flowing from our drinking usages; but they still insist on recommending them, and, as it seems to me, without sufficient consideration of the immense responsibility which rests on them for the continuance of those moral evils which produce so much of the misery that comes daily under their observation.'

The late Dr. Nicolls, of Longford, medical officer of the Poor Law Union, had for many years most successfully treated patients in hospital without alcohol, and as far as possible in his large general practice. He and Mr. Haughton corresponded frequently on the subject, and kept the facts constantly before the public.

In June, 1870, a renewed Irish national movement was started in Dublin by a number of public men, many of whom were well known and respected by all sections of the community and by all parties.[2] James

[1] By prescribing alcohol.

[2] Several of those no longer take part in the movement.

Haughton's hopes for "Irish nationality, or the right of Irishmen to govern themselves," were revived by the momentary apparent union of discordant elements, and in his old age he felt rejoiced to see a new constitutional effort for Ireland; although, as he frequently stated and wrote since 1848,[1] he had long advised his countrymen to turn their attention to practical reforms, attainable by alliance with English Liberals, yet he had never been able to banish from his mind the iniquities of the Union, the long misgovernment[2] of Ireland, and the right of people to choose for themselves; and when he saw the renewed constitutional agitation, he began to hope that the work commenced by his friend O'Connell might at last be conducted to a successful result, *if* Irishmen of all parties could be persuaded to meet on the common platform, and to work amicably together. He did not feel able to undertake new work, but he kept his pen going, as well as helping the cause with a subscription. Twenty-three years before, after the death of the great leader, he had practically given up the question of Repeal of the Union as a hopeless waste of Irish energy, and now the tone of his approval of the renewed efforts does not indicate very strong confidence in the ultimate success of the new movement. He felt that we still had amongst us almost insurmountable antagonisms; he also felt that the opinions of all the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, as well as the wishes of Irish-

[1] Pages 90, 202.

[2] This term is not now applicable specially to Ireland, which has been for years largely favoured with reforming legislation. The faults which still exist are the inherent faults of *all* governments; *not* the oppression of a weaker by a stronger people. Needful reforms are merely postponed until proper pressure be applied.

men, had now to be consulted on a question of such vital importance to all; and those opinions he believed to be against dis-union.[1] In fact, his heart was with "dear old Ireland," and made him wish for a right which he feared might cause a useless agitation, unless, indeed, all Irishmen were of one mind on the question. He had seen good measures passed by the United Parliament, imperial in their character, such as two extensions of the suffrage in 1831 and 1867–8, Abolition of Slavery, Free Trade, &c.: and local, for Ireland, such as National Education, Poor Law, Land Acts, and Church Acts, &c—all conciliatory, and for the benefit of the people; and he had full expectation that all just demands of the people would be responded to by our united House of Commons. Two sentences are now printed in italics, in his answer to the first committee:—

'35, ECCLES-STREET, DUBLIN.

'*16th June*, 1870.

'GENTLEMEN,

'I am favoured with your circular of the 7th instant, inviting my co-operation for restoration to Irishmen of the right of governing themselves, of which they were unjustly and fraudulently deprived by the misnamed Act of Union. Always believing that Act to be indefensible on any grounds, either moral or political, my whole heart and feelings go with you in this renewed effort to obtain the restoration of those natural and inalienable rights of

[1] It is as impossible to understand why enlightened Irishmen should now desire dis-union, as it is to understand how those born before the end of the last century could avoid being Repealers, when oppression was as much the rule, as now the rule is conciliation and yielding to the popular will.

which we should never have been deprived. I earnestly hope and pray that you may be enabled to secure such *a union of sentiment among all classes of our countrymen* on this great national question as may secure to Irishmen, in the future, the full right of making their own laws and administering their own affairs. To secure these ends great firmness, great wisdom, and the hearty inculcation of a spirit of good-will and brotherhood among all parties in Ireland must guide the actions of all who take a part in these proceedings. . . . . *Old sectarian feuds and all party political enmities must be buried,* and all our thoughts for the present be absorbed in the one grand idea, the one noble feeling of nationality. . . . . Disunion has been the curse of our country. Union must bring in its train blessings innumerable, the first of which would be the right of self-government. I would therefore respectfully recommend that this be the sole object put before the country at present, and that all minor issues, such as a Royal residence, absenteeism, &c., which seem to me light as feathers in comparison with the one great object of our desire, should be postponed. These and all other secondary questions would come under consideration when the one great lever for securing our domestic, our social, and our political happiness was placed in our hands, to be worked evermore by Irishmen, and by none others. We would, of course, as Nationalists, be soon separated into parties—that would be inevitable—but a manly and a patriotic sentiment would prevail; and out of our differences would ultimately arise a happy condition of human existence. . . . . I would apologize for thus offering you my opinions, but for your request to that effect in your circular. I have

now but to add that I reluctantly decline becoming a member of your committee; my age and infirmities too plainly assure me that I am no longer fitted to take an active part in public affairs; the excitement I must feel if I found myself working with you would, I believe, be more than I could bear. You have my best wishes and my prayers for your success. I have said nothing about a Federal Union with England; my own feelings lead me to doubt that that is the best mode of settling our question, but I would leave that to my countrymen to decide; many years ago that question engaged the attention of a Liberal party in England, and the late Joseph Sturge—a man highly esteemed among them—consulted me on the subject; he came to Ireland about it, but his visit had no result.[1]

'I remain, gentlemen,

'Faithfully yours,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.'

Many of the explanations given in this and in other chapters about his opinions as to national and other questions are derived from letters not published, and also from his conversation; and although he wished to hope almost against hope, yet he did not feel much confidence in the usefulness of the new agitation.

The Emperor of the French, Napoleon III., with a wonderful infatuation—so much without cause[2] was the war, for which France was quite unprepared[3]—hurled himself and dragged the French nation from

[1] Page 69.

[2] Nominally, because a German prince had been proposed as Spanish king.

[3] As events proved, the army and material of war were utterly insufficient; and, judging from the opinions of the French press for some months previously, France really wished for peace.

their high pinnacle of reputation as the first military power in the world, in the summer of 1870, when he forced on a declaration of war against Prussia, and in a few months France lay prostrate before the armed hosts of united Germany; with few redeeming features, except the energy and hope displayed by a few men, of whom M. Thiers may be taken as a type of Old France renovated with new ideas, and M. Gambetta as a type of the buoyant hopes of Young France, struggling against fate, and urging the nation to a desperate continuance of the contest. This is not the place to tell how France lost Alsace and part of Lorraine, also the great fortified cities, Metz and Strasburg; she lost one great army at Metz, and suffered a still greater defeat at Sedan;[1] and there the Emperor lost his crown,[2] and after being some time detained as prisoner at Wilhelmshöhe near Cassel, he retired to England, and died at Chiselhurst in 1873. These events and the siege of Paris belong to history. One great fact was completed soon after the commencement of the war: the French troops quitted Rome after an occupation of twenty-two years, and the Italian troops soon entered, after an almost nominal contest with some foreign soldiers; the unity of Italy was accomplished, and Victor Emmanuel proclaimed king from the Capitol.

Russia, as a matter of course, took the opportunity to abrogate that part of the Vienna treaty of 1856 relative to ships of war on the Black Sea; and however we might object to the manner of asserting her determination, it was absurd for us to expect that any great

[1] Those two armies laid down their arms, and were sent prisoners into Germany.

[2] When news of Sedan was received in Paris, a Republic was decreed by general acclamation.

nation would adhere to a clause binding her not to navigate a sea partly her own, a moment longer than the most favourable time to annul it. All these events have been touched on because they confirmed James Haughton in his long-held opinion of the ultimate uselessness of war and of treaties wrung by force:[1] he had long since seen the old treaties of Vienna (1814) and Paris (1815), for which so much blood had been shed, torn to shreds and not a particle held together;[2] and now again he found that we were threatening war because the Czar of Russia had done what the world knew he had good reason to do. He published several letters on the war, all to assist the well-directed efforts of the friends of peace: on "the Eastern Question" he wrote:—

'. . . . I entirely agree with that eminent man John Stuart Mill, that, for England to declare war against Russia because her Prime Minister has conveyed the sentiments of the Emperor and his cabinet on the so-called treaty of 1856 (I say *so-called*, because Russia was not a consenting but a forced party to it—an enforced arrangement is not a treaty), in very overbearing and unwarrantable style, "would be nothing less than monstrous." To me it seems that such a proceeding would indicate folly bordering on insanity, on the part of her Majesty's Ministry, and would be an absolute outrage on Christianity. . . . . For a few months past we have been deploring the miseries of war in other lands, and it would indeed be "monstrous" pro-

[1] He often said that the only treaty never broken was between William Penn and the Indians, and that it was almost the only treaty never ratified by an oath or by force.

[2] All Europe has assisted at different times in tearing up those treaties.

ceeding on our part to engage in such bad work, all because Russia has not gone the right way of obtaining the revision of a treaty that all men admit needs revision, and which some of us think it was criminal on the part of the contracting parties to enforce on Russia; for they must have known that it was unquestionably laying the foundation of future war. This you prove in your leading article; you say: "One of the parties who forced Russia to bite the dust in the Crimea is prostrate now." If Prussia shall in like manner force France "to bite the dust"—to submit to terms humiliating to a great nation—does any sane man imagine that rancour will not be sown in the hearts of her people, and that, one day or other, it will give rise to a bloody harvest of revenge? It is full time for nations to learn that robbing each other is not the road either to peace or to heaven.'

The friends of peace were sufficiently strong to prevent war at that time between us and Russia, but they had no influence, apparently, on the short and terribly-destructive six months' war between France and Germany; all ideas in those countries were swallowed up in the two ideas of defence and of conquest!

He wrote several letters at the time; a short extract is given from one, of 23rd October, 1870:—

'. . . . Is there no safe and suitable way of seeking to put a stop to this sad work? Destroying even small cities and towns is truly barbarian work, borrowed from past ages. To imagine such savagery as the bombardment of Paris gives rise to feelings of deep abhorrence, and brings us back to the merciless times of our remote forefathers. No sophistry can justify the destruction of a city of two millions, or of any number of human beings, by the people of

another land.[1] And as it seems probable just now that the Prussian army is—from feelings of compunction, let us hope—hesitating about commencing this work of wholesale slaughter, is not the present a suitable moment to bring the gentle force of that great power, public opinion, to bear on the King of Prussia and his ministry? And it seems to me that lovers of peace might appeal now to his own published sentiments. It is understood to have been the King's declaration that he did not fight with France, but with the Emperor and those who adhered to him. The late ruler of the French is his prisoner; that sovereign, who foolishly, and without offence given, made war, has been worsted in battle, and brought low indeed!'

And in conclusion:—

'. . . . The King of Prussia has, just now, perhaps the grandest opportunity ever offered to a human being for displaying nobility of mind and true magnanimity of soul, by making a beautiful and friendly peace with France, and binding that lively people with cords of gratitude and admiration for many coming generations. How much more permanent would peace be on such terms than if a sore wound to national vanity be left for new generations to wash out in blood? What a glorious memory would rest for ever on the name of William of Prussia if, in the hour of victory, he silenced the voice of ambition, and proved that a lasting peace was dearer to his heart than the further humiliation of a people already greatly punished for having, without justification, unsheathed the sword.'

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[1] Page 130.

He was much occupied with attempts to promote petitions from public bodies in order to induce our Government to try to modify by mediation some of the horrors of war, even if unable to influence the two nations for the cessation of hostilities; but he met with little response; there was too much difference of opinion, and whilst very many lamented the disastrous defeat of France, others rejoiced at every German victory. We know not yet if the marvellous and uninterrupted rapidity of German victories, sweeping over nearly one-half of France in a few months, has decided the peace of Europe for many or for few years, or if the seeds of future wars have been widely scattered over a fertile field. But the enormous growth of armies rather suggests the latter lamentable prospect; it is calculated that some twelve to thirteen millions of soldiers now stand ready to keep the peace of Europe! Unfortunately, they are *not* one band of constables influenced by the one object of public safety.[1] In France and Germany every available man is now drilled and trained.

The following remarks, with Mr. Haughton's comments, were written after the fall of Sedan :—

"WENDELL PHILLIPS AND BISMARCK.—The first step that Prussia made from Sedan to Paris destroyed for ever all Bismarck's claim to be thought a statesman. Ignorantly or angrily, he flung away such an opportunity of strengthening his own land in the gratitude of France and the admiration of the world. Instead of this, he did all that in him lies to insure that immortal hate and undying purpose of revenge which will breed up the next generation of French for nothing else but to put the tricolour some day over Berlin. The next generation of Prussia will have cause to weep that at this hour, so great in possibilities, Prussia had no statesman to reap the harvest which her greatest of captains (Moltke) had got for her. The man

[1] While now writing (January, 1877), the threatening Eastern Question once again menaces the peace of Europe.

whom we all thought a Sully, an Oxenstiern, turns out only to be an adroit manager, second lieutenant to Moltke, and the willing tool of a bigot king—no breadth, no foresight, no large instinct of humanity, always the highest wisdom. Humanity itself would hardly weep if the pestilence delivered Paris, leaving neither peasant nor princeling to tell the tale at Berlin. The tears and curses of the civilized world blast the German laurels. Napoleon's fall was speedy—in less than thirty days. Prussia's is quicker still. She entered Sedan borne on the wonder, almost the loving admiration, of the world. She left it followed by the loathing and the contempt of both continents. We rejoice that Providence thus buries under its own folly this new and dreadful military power, and robs it of the means to cripple the rising democracy, as it might have done had it retained the respect of the world. Our Government should utter the verdict of civilization and liberty on this bald barbarism. It should at least protest against this vengeance on unoffending France, this insult to the spirit of the age. The oldest republic, the master power of the next century, should speak for humanity amid this breathless and cowardly silence of kings."—'From a New York paper.'

'The above passage is taken from a letter written by one of America's deepest thinkers and most admired orators. Wendell Phillips is a really great man; and being yet in the prime of life, it is probable that for many years to come he will exercise no small influence in his native land, where he is much respected. He has in this extract expressed with much force the present position before the world of the King of Prussia, and shown that he has been since his victory at Sedan destroying the opportunity of securing for himself, in the present and in all future time, a great and noble name. America, as well as Europe, is now crying out against his resolve still further to humiliate France. The King and his Chancellor, and the other able men he has about him, are not surely insensible to public opinion; neither, I am satisfied, do they leave out of their consideration at this awful crisis the risk they run of losing all they have already gained, by pursuing

a wild career of ambition, instead of listening to the dictates of wisdom, and justice, and magnanimity.

'35, ECCLES-STREET,
'*8th November*, 1870.'

He expressed much satisfaction that we had decided to arrange peaceably our difference with Russia; at the time of the conference he wrote, March, 1871:—

'. . . . Let us keep our shield without stain; why rush into a war about such a wretched transaction as this? The treaty of 1856 was never expected to be kept.'

CHAPTER XXIII.

DURING the year 1871 he continued to write with clearness and force, and to attend temperance and other meetings.

After several years[1] of correspondence between the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the United States of America relative to the Alabama[2] question, the good sense of the leading statesmen of both nations at length prevailed, and an arrangement was now in a fair way of being considered, with a substantial intention to arrive, if possible, at a satisfactory treaty. James Haughton could not see any difference in *principle* between the sale of a steamer to the Southerns and the sale of rifles, powder, ball, to the Northerns, and it is almost too plain to require discussion, except on the grounds of expediency or compromise; the main argument being, that it is impossible to prevent sale of rifles, but that it is possible to prevent the sale of a ship. On the question of

[1] During which years much angry recrimination was interchanged between many of the newspapers at both sides of the Atlantic, and several proposed settlements had come to nothing.

[2] A steamer built in Liverpool, sent *un*-armed to sea; and somewhere in the ocean, cannon, &c., were transferred to her from another vessel: she was then put in commission as a Southern frigate, and did much damage to Northern commerce, until sunk by a Northern frigate off the coast of France, in 1864: the North called her privateer or pirate, and held us accountable for a breach of international law! See page 261, note.

international law he did not pretend to offer any opinion; he had long since discovered that existing law and justice were not perfectly synonymous terms, and he had long laboured to help to diminish their antagonism, to the best of his ability; but, in any case, were we right or wrong, as a consistent advocate of Christian brotherhood and peace, he was in favour of arbitration rather than war, and he was greatly rejoiced that the two nations—which, with all their faults, he believed to be the first in the race of real civilization—should show such an example to the world.[1] In the following letter, the idea of a Federal, or other, union of *all* English-speaking nations, was not new; indeed, some thinkers[2] had gone so far as to suggest the future union of all civilized nations, but it was an idea almost dormant or laid aside, and had never been very prominently set forward. The idea of the "periodical revision" of treaties is most probably rather novel: it might save many threats of war or armed peaces. Such a clause of revision in the treaty with Russia of 1856–7 might have saved us from exhibiting some not very creditable bluster in 1870.

"ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

"We publish to-day a communication from James Haughton, Esq., on the subject of the relations between England and America, which must not alone interest but gratify every well-wisher of mankind. The suggestion so clearly and impressively put forward by our universally esteemed correspondent is one which, if acted up to in the letter and in the spirit in which it is conceived would, beyond doubt, produce that, without which there can be no real happiness—*peace and concord*; and it must be the sincere aspiration of every good man that the day may not be remote when men will cease to have recourse to war to redress grievances, real or imaginary.

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[1] Page 125.

[2] Auguste Comte was one.

'PEACE AND CONCORD WITH AMERICA FOR EVER.

'*To the Editor of the "Dublin Evening Post."*

'35, ECCLES-STREET, DUBLIN.
'*30th March*, 1871.

'DEAR SIR,—I take the following extracts from *The Newport* (Rhode Island) *Mercury* of the 25th February :—

"The approaching meeting at Washington of the Joint High Commission to endeavour to agree upon a convention determining the principles which shall govern the adjustment of the various questions between the United States and Great Britain is an era in the history of the country, and has naturally enlisted the attention of the public, both in America and in Europe."[1]

* * * * * * *

'I omit some foolish tall talk by the editor, such as—at both sides of the water—has a tendency to keep alive feelings of alienation, instead of strengthening those sentiments of brotherhood and mutual kindness which would cement a lasting harmony and friendship between two great nations whose cordial union would tend—may I not say, would certainly create, and that at no distant day—such kindly feelings among other nations as that the beautiful vision of one of our poets might be realized, and men should soon see—

"Peace o'er the earth her olive branch extend,
And white-rob'd innocence from heaven descend."

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[1] According to the convention arranged at Washington, February, 1871, the Arbitrators—named by the United Kingdom, the United States, the King of Italy, the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil—met in Geneva, and :—

"On the 14th September, 1872, damages were awarded by a majority of the Arbitrators to the amount of about £3,000,000, for the depredations committed by four of the ten or twelve cruisers of which complaint had been made."—*Times'* Summary, 1872.

'. . . . To help to bring about this glorious era I would suggest to the "Joint High Commission" referred to, the propriety of considering the establishment of such a federal union, or friendly league, between Great Britain and Ireland and the United States of America as would make a war between them, or any serious difference in the future, an impossibility. This great work I would accomplish by making their interests—national and commercial — identical; by establishing such a union between them as would make them, in fact and in reality, one nation, one great brotherhood; bound together by freedom of commerce—freedom devoid of all petty and puerile jealousies.

'Let no man on either side say this is a Utopian notion, and set it aside as a thing impossible of realization. It could and would be accomplished, with certainty of the happiest results, if statesmen would approach the work with honest hearts, and manly and religious confidence that God would bless such labours for realization of that great change in the feelings of men towards each other which the Christian portion of our race profess to believe must one day or other come to pass.

'. . . . The meeting of the Convention in Washington affords a favourable opportunity for starting a more enlarged idea than the settlement of the question at issue, which I doubt not will be satisfactorily disposed of. If all who are pofessedly the advocates of "peace on earth and good-will among men" would steadily place their influence in that scale, instead—as they too often do—of supporting the opinion that war must always be a normal condition of our race, fighting might soon be made more unpopular in the world, and the practice of

the beautiful precepts of Christianity become the rule and guide of human action. Surely this ought not to be too much to expect from England and America in their conduct towards one another—men of the same stock, speaking the same language, and standing amongst the foremost in the world in those arts and sciences that are the pioneers of civilization and happiness.

'. . . . In order to guard such a treaty as I suggest from danger of rupture in the future, I would make it one of its provisions that, periodically (say every twenty-five or every fifty years), it should be subject to revision, so as to make it conformable to advancing knowledge and the inevitable changes in the ideas of men. Such an arrangement as this would enable future generations, peacefully and constitutionally, to make such changes as would be materially satisfactory, and thus tend to hand down to our successors a new and better mode of arranging human affairs than has prevailed in past times.[1]

'JAMES HAUGHTON.'

He had always believed that perfect free trade was not only a true social and international principle, but that it would also be an important cause of extending through the world desire for peace and dislike to war. In his private correspondence with his American friends, and in his published letters, he frequently expressed his wonder at the want of enlightenment in America with regard to one of the first Laws of civilization and commerce. He often remarked that all Americans whom he met—many called on him in Eccles-street—held erroneous views as to the imagi-

[1] Page 124.

nary benefits of protective duties. This persistence in error, and their civil war, had some effect in diminishing in his mind some of the enthusiastic hopes he once had that Americans were, or would be, the pioneers of human progress. In one of his late published letters, he quoted the following extract from a speech of Mr. Gladstone's at the "Société de l'Economie Politique," in Paris, in March, 1867:—

"If it be good to abolish prohibitions, and to substitute protective duties; if it be good to pass from high protective duties to those which are moderate, and again from the moderate to the low, there is yet one step to be taken—it is, to abolish such duties altogether, and believe me it is best of all."

Mr. Haughton calls these "noble words," and promising for the future of free trade: he alluded to the still prevailing blindness at home on this question, and continued:—

'. . . . Other lands are still sadly in the dark also on this question; America, with all her education, just as blind as Europe; but let us do right, however mistaken others may be.'

He then re-stated his belief that commercial treaties were a mistaken compromise with sound principle.

Against the "Contagious Diseases Acts" he wrote with the strong expressions of indignation which injustice ever excited in his mind, more especially when the weak were ill-treated by the strong. He could not restrain his sentiments of strong disapproval against the insulting selfishness of legislation so tyrannical towards women:[1]—

'. . . . The Acts are unmanly, because they are directed solely against woman, who is the least guilty party. Man is the seducer. . . . If there be

[1] A moderate measure passed in 1864; more stringent in 1867, and proposed extension in 1871.

even a shadow of justification for these Acts—which I do not believe there is—in the name of justice and of decent manly feeling, and of common honesty, let man, as well as woman, be placed outside the pale of the Constitution, and made liable to the same penalties and supervision; and without any evidence or without being confronted with his accuser, seized and imprisoned as an outlaw. I do not now ask whether any pure women have been thus insulted: it is enough for me to know, that every woman is *liable* under these Acts to the horrible imputation—is *liable*, on the sworn belief of a policeman that she is a prostitute, to be seized and imprisoned, and to be insulted in her holiest feelings. . . . . You cannot have read those Acts, or you would be as indignant as I am, at such unmanly, such one-sided, such abominable legislation. Imaginary utility can be no justification for such work; it will soon be execrated by the indignant voice of the nation.

'These abominable Acts have forced multitudes of virtuous women into the arena of politics on a vile and uncongenial and most repulsive subject, because of the unmanly treatment their sex has experienced at the hands of the British and Irish Parliament. These acts cannot, they ought not, and they will not, be allowed to continue in force.'

Many of his late letters were explanatory of the proposed Permissive Bill, in answer to the indefinite and mistaken accusation, that a tyrant minority were seeking for power to force the majority of the people to give up the enjoyment of a harmless pleasure. He stated and re-stated that the chief suggestion in the plan of the Bill was to demand a definite majority, and that this was one of the novel features in the

proposed legislation especially worthy of attention: it was proposed that at least two-thirds of the rate-payers of the district or parish should vote in favour of the law, in order to make it effective, and that such action should be merely local until other districts or parishes followed a good example. He argued for such restrictive legislation on the grounds that the use[1] of intoxicating liquors caused more harm than good to the community; that, according to the best authorities, it was the chief cause of crime, and, as a consequence, the cause of heavy taxation; and that, therefore, as a measure of public economy, it ought to be suppressed, even if moral questions and diminution of pauperism could be regarded as of minor importance to the nation. In his own mind, he was much influenced in his opinion by his knowledge of the fearful amount of social misery in all classes of society caused by the indulgence in a passion so difficult to resist; but whilst he heaped up masses of evidence to support his advocacy of total abstinence, on moral and medical as well as on economic grounds, he believed that strong measures were required to enable mankind to escape the temptation; he believed that the Maine Law, wherever enforced in the United States, had done undoubted good for the people; and his knowledge of the successful voluntary prohibition at Saltaire,[2] in Yorkshire; at Bessbrook,[3] near Newry; and in part of the County Tyrone, supported his opinion of the good done when honestly carried out. A partial and voluntary prohibition, to the extent of Sunday closing of public-houses, in Cashel, County Tipperary, brought about by the influence of the late Archbishop

[1] Between use and abuse he believed that there was not space to draw a line, so closely did the one follow the other.

[2] By Sir Titus Salt; died January, 1877. [3] By J. G. Richardson.

Leahy, gave him a strong array of facts, which he had published and circulated extensively, to show the diminution of crime which followed. On this question of Sunday closing, Dr. Spratt and Mr. Haughton had sent a circular note to every Irish member in the year 1860, asking them to support a petition in favour, to be presented to the House of Commons. It was a part of the temperance movement which had very early attracted his attention. Again he returned to the cause of accidents on railways, reprinting and largely circulating his first correspondence of 1860,[1] relative to the safety for so many years on the Stockton and Darlington line, where no intoxicating liquors were sold, and quoting the opinions of many traffic managers—

"It is desirable to prohibit the sale of the liquors referred to at railway stations, but think that the question is one which would more fitly be left to the decision of the Clearing House Committee."

He added some new facts, and printed in italics:—

> 'It will be observed that, in my original correspondence I made it clearly manifest that drunkenness was not the danger that we had to guard against, but that what men call moderate drinking is the real danger we have to apprehend, because of the disturbance of the brain caused by small quantities of alcohol frequently imbibed.'

Travellers still continue to prefer the risk caused by the temptations to railway servants, rather than deny themselves for a few hours, and directors feel bound to yield and to permit the sale of intoxicating drinks at railway stations; although those same people, who are too thoughtless to lend even the slight help of

[1] Page 148.

temporary abstinence for sake of greater safety, are willing enough to censure when accidents occur.

In an article entitled "Temperance Experiences," and published, March, 1871, in the *Western Temperance Herald*, he states that he had been a teetotaller for thirty-two years, and an abstainer from ardent spirits some four or five years longer, and he believed that he owed much of the improvement of his health, from the comparative delicacy of his early days, to this moderation as well as to the vegetarian regimen which he had commenced some twenty-five years before: of teetotalism he said:—

> 'With the single exception of Christianity, which term includes in its meaning and requirements the love and practice of every virtue, we can advocate no other principle so certain to materially lessen pauperism and crime, and all the evils which follow as their train.'

He then gave a slight sketch of the cause, and of the good done by Father Mathew, and after him:—

> 'No one has laboured so energetically and so successfully as my honoured friend, Father Spratt.'

He then alluded to the large numbers who had been temporarily saved and had again fallen:—

> '. . . . The temptations of the grandly-lighted palaces for the sale of alcoholic liquors, and the less flaring public-houses and beer shops, have proved so great, that many have been unfaithful to their solemn pledge, and this I fear will be the case until an enlightened public sentiment shall sweep away those nuisances altogether.'

He commented on the high character and well-known benevolence of many men engaged in a trade productive of so much misery: with many brewers and dis-

tillers he had been on the most friendly terms during his life:—

'Another and a pleasing experience of my life, during the past thirty-five years, is the almost invariable forbearance and courtesy with which I have been treated by our brewers and distillers, with several of whom I have been always on terms of intimacy. Deeply do I regret and condemn their trade, so opposed to the public weal: for otherwise and personally they would be deserving of the warm respect of their fellow-men; but their very excellence as men makes them as traders more injurious to the community. . . . . I conclude with the words of the poet Campbell, who has so grandly expressed the feeling which always comes to our aid when we are depressed, either by our own unworthiness or by the crooked perseverance of our fellow-men in the path of wrong-doing, even when right is clearly revealed and acknowledged—witness the present anti-Christian and unmeaning war[1] in Europe, and the, if possible, madder disposition of our own countrymen to make Europe[2] (and perhaps America, also) one great battle-field: even here, everlasting Hope comes to our assistance, so that the scepticism all around us as to the possibility of improving mankind does not dismay those who have some faith in the progress of Christian civilization:—

"Eternal Hope! when yonder spheres sublime
Pealed their first notes to sound the march of time,
Thy joyous youth began—but not to fade,
When all the sister-planets have decay'd;
When rapt in fire the realms of ether glow,
And Heaven's last thunder shakes the world below,
Thou, undismay'd, shalt o'er the ruins smile,
And light thy torch at Nature's funeral pile!"

[1] French and Prussian. [2] Page 253.

In a few weeks his own feelings of hope were once more severely tested by the death of the Rev. Dr. Spratt, on 27th May, 1871, aged seventy-three years. The state of his own health at the time did not allow him to take much part in a movement to do honour to the memory of the good man: nor, indeed, could he have been very cordial with other promoters of the proposed memorial, who seemed inclined, if possible, rather to remember the numerous charities with which the name of Dr. Spratt was connected, and disinclined to do much to perpetuate the temperance reform and the Cuffe-lane Society, to which he had so untiringly devoted so much of his life. James Haughton not only deeply regretted the loss of an old and valued friend, but he also felt much the loss of this second apostle for the cause of temperance, which he so firmly believed to be the chief hope for the real improvement of his native land. On the 1st of June, he wrote:—

'IN MEMORY OF FATHER SPRATT.

'*To the Editor of the "Freeman."*

'DEAR SIR,—I am not about to attempt a memoir, or even to give a hasty sketch of the character of the estimable man whose name stands at the head of this letter. Neither shall I indulge in many expressions of sorrow, because of the apparently irreparable loss which this sudden disappearance from among us has created; although my intimate acquaintance with him, of thirty years' standing, and my close observation of the beauty and consistency of his life, causes me very deeply to feel the loss of a man so long a time devoted to works of philanthropy and benevolence, and that the chasm in the ranks of my own personal friends which his decease

creates causes me to feel very sensibly, indeed, the loss of one so valued, my constant intercourse with whom, during that long period of our lives, has been one unbroken interval of kindly, and cordial, and affectionate friendship. My present purpose, fellow-citizens, is not to impress on your minds a reverence for him we have lost (for he was, indeed, greatly loved by all who knew him, and by thousands who knew him only by the known rectitude and charity of his life), but as he is no longer with us to be our guide and helper in many works of benevolence, I want to ask you how we are best to sustain two of those useful institutions in which he took a very prominent interest. I refer to the Irish Total Abstinence Society, and to the Night Asylum for destitute women of good character. As to the first of these associations—its committee has always been composed of working men; and now that he who was, during the full period of an entire generation, the mainspring that kept its machinery in healthful working order is no longer at their head, counselling them by his wisdom to avoid every cause of division, and urging them to keep steady themselves to our great fundamental principles, I trust that perfect sobriety and Christian love for one another will not fail in this hour of our need to keep alive, and in continual operation, that noble society. . . . . My friend, Mr. H. Dix Hutton, has anticipated my wishes in regard to the Night Asylum. I now address myself to the teetotallers of Dublin, who honour the memory of Father Spratt, but in a special manner to the committee of Cuffe-lane Society; and I entreat them to have a preliminary meeting without delay, for the accomplishment of the two purposes indicated in this letter, and I pro-

mise to give them all the assistance in my power. A better man than Father Spratt has not lived amongst us; he was persistent, he was active, he was faithful in the performance of the many good works that commended themselves to his judgment and to the affectionate sentiments of his nature.—I remain, fellow-citizens, faithfully yours,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.'

'35, ECCLES-STREET,
'*1st June*, 1871.'

He made many efforts during some months to persuade other clergymen to undertake the good work, and to aid the Cuffe-lane Society, now left without a leader, but he had only temporary and partial success in his attempts. In one letter, written more than two months after the death of Dr. Spratt, he mentioned how—at his last visit to Cuffe-lane, on the previous Sunday—the people were so anxious to try to save themselves, that they entreated him to administer the pledge, as there was no priest present to help them.

Although his bodily health was slowly getting weaker, he still devoted himself to the work, and continued to write his thoughts with his usual foresight and clearness. To the Council of the Irish Permissive Bill Association, and to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, he wrote most decidedly against a Licensing Bill introduced by Mr. Bruce, as 'bad in all its parts.' Some of the Council seemed inclined to support it, with the hope of expunging the bad parts, but he urged them :—

'To take no part whatever in the promotion of the Bill offered by the Government, which I look upon as a sham, and not even meant to strike a serious blow at the liquor traffic; on the contrary,

it would be insured a ten years' lease of its work and a certainty of a renewal.'

He concluded a letter to the Council by appealing to them to adhere to Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill, and that no system of licensing the trade could be justified.[1]

'. . . . If it is to be maintained as a blessing, and not a bane to the country, the trade should be open to all who wished to embark in it. To license a wrong cannot secure a blessing from on High. We see its miserable results in the wretched state of morals all around us, produced by the liquor traffic.'

He also argued that the wavering supporters of restrictive measures would be tempted by delusive promises, and would be but too willing to trust all improvement to Government good intentions. His perception has proved correct; nothing of the least value has been done, and nothing will be done until the evil become so fearful as to compel some strong remedy in self-defence.

One of his latest letters was addressed to the editor of the *Medical Press*, noting, and clearly commenting on an essay by Dr. Roussel, of Paris, "L' Hygiene Sociale,"[2] and a pamphlet by Dr. Prosper Despine, of Marseille, "Le Démon Alcohol." Both essays were on the medical and social evils produced by use of alcohol in France, and both writers quite comfirmed his often repeated opinion that wine-growing countries are *not* safe from the temptations and crimes caused by strong drink.[3]

He had been accustomed to write a Christmas

[1] Page 38.
[2] Read before L'Academie de Medicine.
[3] Page 149.

address for some years, and his last published letter[1] was in 1871, on the subject of temperance, as had been his first letter on the 6th of February, 1838; he commenced "a few words of encouragement to Irishmen" with expressions of some regret that the progress was so slow, but he was hopeful as ever, and notwithstanding the strength of the evil be believed that—

'. . . . Other days are coming, other times are at hand. Even the London *Times* gives us occasionally a grudging assistance; some striking articles have recently appeared in its columns in our favour, thus indicating the sure and certain opinion that the liquor traffic is doomed.[2] Let the people do their duty, and by-and-by Parliament must listen to their remonstrances.

'What is our duty? Every man must decide that question for himself. I ask you to prepare for the time that cannot be very far distant, when we shall be called on to elect a new Parliament. Register your votes and give them, when occasion arise, to candidates who will promise to support Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill.

'The grandest work is now in their hands—the whole world is now alive thinking of it. Let not Ireland lag in the rere of civilization, but let us start forward in this grand and noble work, and determine to hand down to our children a legacy that would confer on us and on them honour to all future times.'

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[1] Except some answers to addresses in 1872.

[2] January, 1877, a recent leader states that the temperance question will be one of the deciding questions of the next general election.

The honour of "dear old Ireland" was ever in his mind, and he often regretted our Irish want of enthusiasm for some of the great questions of his day, whether temperance, anti-slavery, free trade, or other reforms; and to his mind, the grievances complained of in our own island ought rather to widen than to narrow our sympathies, and his own thoroughly Irish heart was large enough to uphold the great principles everywhere, of Liberty, Order, Progress, which he so completely believed to be essential parts of the laws of God as taught by Jesus Christ.

From numbers of private letters written to him, and which were of a character sympathizing with his labours, and which through life had encouraged him to persevere as he in turn had encouraged others,[1] the following is selected. It is from Wendell Phillips, who, as an ardent reformer and a talented orator, is highly esteemed in Europe and in America. They had met in London thirty years before, and they corresponded occasionally on anti-slavery and on temperance:—

"BOSTON, *Augt.* 19, 1871.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have to thank you for many an interesting journal sent me during the last ten years. I am always careful to study your earnest appeals to your countrymen, and get the last phase of the temperance movement as you see and present it.

"How vigilantly you watch your opportunity, and seize every chance to impress the grave importance of our cause on the community. I meant long ago to have told you how much I admired your tireless zeal. You and I have seen many toiling years in these 'causes;' but where, my dear friend, can a man find a happier life? As the shadows lengthen I look back with content and gratitude on the privilege God has accorded me of

[1] A friend once remarked to me, that the sympathy sent from Europe to the Abolitionists of the United States must have been of incalculable sustaining power during the long years of almost hopeless struggle.

working in these fields—glad to see the world coming to our way of thinking—adopting the principles we have been contending for. As a conserservative grows old he must be unhappy to see the principles which he deems essential to the safety of society undermined. But you and I see the world coming to us, and can rejoice to know that we leave it nearer our model than we found it. In this good work your hand has never been idle. Your communications to the Press show unflagging spirit—never wearied and full of hope—yes, they often remind me of Goethe's motto, 'without haste, without rest.'

"I wish I had any news to tell you of the cause nearest to your heart. We are trying in the West, and hope to have the plan of holding the *owner* of the building let for rum selling liable for any damage done to or by those furnished with drink there; this appeal to pocket of landholders is potent.

"I trust your health is good. How freshly I remember our delightful meeting in London. Many a message and report have come since, but they were not needed to keep that interview vivid and make me feel very close to you in the great objects of life."

Their opinions regarding the great civil war in America (and also as to the conduct of our government at the time, which probably was impartial as it was pleasing neither to North nor to South!) had been such as might be expected from two ardent abolitionists who were both loyal to their own nations;[1] but such temporary differences rather increase the value of the foregoing testimony as the estimate of an impartial friend.

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[1] Page 161.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THROUGHOUT the year 1871, James Haughton had still been able not only to write letters on various subjects, but also to attend meetings, and more especially in the Temperance Hall, Cuffe-lane, on Sunday evenings, where he had, for many years, been present almost with the regularity of a clergyman attending to his religious duties. But, for some years, his physical strength had been steadily failing, and he now felt that he must give up work, except such gentle exercise of body and mind as would put little strain on his weakening powers. During the year 1872 he could converse with his friends, and also keep up some private correspondence until the winter commenced: but even in the spring of the year he had felt himself to be unable to receive a public address, and on Whit Monday he was only strong enough to stand at the window of his house in Eccles-street to acknowledge the kind intentions of the members of the Dublin Total Abstinence Society (the oldest in Dublin) as they marched past, and to shake hands with one or two who were his fellow-members for thirty-three years.

During the summer he rallied considerably, and in June was strong enough to receive and to answer another complimentary address.

"TO JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ., J.P.,

"*President of the Dublin Temperance Union.*

"DEAR SIR,—We, the Vice-Presidents, Office-bearers, and Members of the Dublin Temperance Union, having seen with unfeigned regret a notification that you did not think your health would permit of further labours in connexion with our movement, beg to be permitted, under such circumstances, to give expression to the feelings of the entire temperance community—feelings of deep thankfulness that you have been spared for so many years to advocate the cause which 'lies at the root of all social and moral reform,' and of heartfelt regret at the reason which compels your retirement from the more active position you have so long and ably occupied.

"In presenting this Address we feel that the history of temperance movement in Ireland is practically bound up with your labours. From the day on which Father Mathew took the pledge and gave utterance to the memorable words, 'Here goes, in the name of God,' words big with blessings to Ireland, until now, your name has been in the foremost place, whilst beyond our own shores—in England, Scotland, and America—it is held in affectionate respect and esteem by thousands who have only read and heard of your labours.

"Throughout your long life you have ever acted on the principle that—

'Where'er a wrong is done,
To the humblest, to the weakest 'neath the all beholding sun,
That wrong is done to all; and they are slaves, most base,
Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all the race.'

"Hence your efforts on behalf of the downtrodden slave, who, made after the image of God, like ourselves, was bought and sold, and degraded by men who professed to belong to a superior race—efforts which have associated your name with the heroes of the great anti-slavery struggle, the Garrisons and Sturges of history. Hence your labours on behalf of the wronged and the suffering at home, labours which made you at once the friend and associate of Ireland's great tribune—O'Connell. But, amid all your work for the advancement of the people, the temperance cause ever occupied first place in your heart; and looking back over the years that are gone, and on the services which accompanied them—services which will never be forgotten by the thousands who heard your voice, and who profited by your advice—we cannot help finding that your absence from our councils and our platforms will cause a vacancy not easy to fill.

"But, confident in the righteousness of our cause, and sure of the blessing of HIM who had blessed us hitherto, we go forward, and earnestly pray that you may be spared for many years, and that in your retirement

you may be cheered and made glad by the labours of those who, whatever success attends their efforts, must always be your debtors.

"We are, with affectionate respect and esteem,

"*Vice-Presidents*—Richard Allen, A. M. Sullivan, W. F. Lawlor, George Checkett, James Kearney White, Archibald J. Nicolls, Henry Wigham, Patrick Duff, Amos J. Varian.

Executive Committee—Michael Kavanagh, Patrick M. Grade, M. Buckley, Joseph Morris, John Casey, William Callaghan, P. Fitzgerald, John White, Edward M'Glade, Thompson Neill, W. Anderson.

"*Chairman of Committee*—John Anderson.

"*Hon. Secretary*—T. W. Russell."

'REPLY.

'*To the Vice-Presidents, Office-Bearers, and Members of the Dublin Temperance Union.*

'DEAR FRIENDS,—I have read the copy of the beautiful address you have this day presented to me. I find it difficult to get words to express my grateful sense of your unexpected kindness in thus associating in my mind a pleasant feeling of all the affection you have manifested towards me ever since the commencement of my intercourse with you. . . . I consider the temperance movement stands first in importance and in value to our country, so that if a good and gracious Providence shall once more permit it, I may again be found associated with a body of men whom I love and respect for their earnestness and zeal in its promotion. . . . . You have hitherto worked in much love and harmony; may this continue, and be your happy evidence of sure triumph over your powerful enemy, so that our country and the world may yet be freed from this great foe, and future generations be determined to adhere to our great and true principles, which lie at the root of human happiness. For your allusions to the interest I have felt in other associations than the temperance reform, I offer you my warm thanks. The

anti-slavery movement was one of them, in which I always took a hearty interest. It still needs effort to effect the entire overthrow of this iniquity, and I would like yet to engage in that noble work, but I am unable for it. Your allusion to O'Connell, in reference to it, is particularly gratifying to me. The intercourse I had with him on this subject dwells pleasantly on my mind, for he was a noble advocate of the oppressed. Under his portrait in my study I have these words, written many years ago :—

"The friend of universal liberty, civil and religious."

That great man is constantly in my remembrance.

'I remain, my dear friends,
'Affectionately yours,
'JAMES HAUGHTON.

'35, ECCLES-STREET, DUBLIN,
"*22nd June*, 1872."

Yet later in the year, the Members of the Mechanics' Institute, for the second time,[1] expressed their respect and gratitude. The deputation had the courtesy to wait for several weeks until the state of his health permitted him to receive the compliment in August, and to reply to the admirable address which will be found in the Appendix T.

At different periods of his life he had received addresses of esteem and grateful acknowledgment from various societies amongst the poorer classes of the community, with whom and for whom he had worked for so many years: they gave him their thanks, they proved to him their appreciation of his

[1] With their first address, in the year 1857, they had presented to him a handsome urn.

unwearied perseverance to elevate their class, and that was all which was desired by one who never sought for the honours or the distinctions, or the rewards, so often obtained by those who laboured less persistently for the good of their fellow-men.

During the last months of his life, although hardly suffering from pain, except such as is attendant on weariness and heaviness of the head, he was oppressed by feebleness and incapacity to work much with either body or mind, and this inability weighed heavily on his spirits, so as to make him feel more regret for want of power to pursue his temperance mission, than even for his want of bodily strength. He could go out to drive, and also to walk for a short time; he could read at intervals, and also write at times as well and as distinctly as usual; but although he apparently made decided rallies and seemed as if he were about to recover his strength more than once, his life was gradually ebbing away. In February, 1873, it seemed for one short week as if he was about to recover from the feebleness of the past winter, and for a few days he was stronger and better in many ways than he had been for some weeks previously: but the improvement was momentary, not real; from Sunday the 9th he slowly but decidedly began to sink. He was able to walk for a few days, and then came the moments of almost death in life. On the night of the 19th February, 1873, some minutes after midnight (Thursday morning, 20th), the last breath was drawn.

In attempting to illustrate his character, there has been no pretension to hold him up as an example of human perfection; plenty of other men have been, and are, good, humane, charitable, self-sacrificing;

but his steady, consistent and conscientious perseverance, his adherence for years to the advocacy of principles both unpopular and unfashionable, mark him as a man whose life, quiet and uneventful as it may have been, is worthy of some study. Some of the Reforms to which he devoted part of his time have been successfully brought to an end, or are on the direct track to perfection—Slavery has been abolished by all the great nations—Free Trade is received as a truth to be adopted at the most convenient time—Peace instead of War is so far recognized that men in their calmer moments are all ready to recommend arbitration (always for other nations, sometimes for their own!), and we have seen it accepted recently by the only two nations who really understand Liberty, Order, Progress—the United Kingdom and the United States.[1] Temperance has taken some hold on society, but that the world is really shaking off the evils of Intemperance is unfortunately very doubtful; the drink passion seems to be too strong to be overcome by the unaided *will* of individuals; he hoped almost against hope to the end, and that especial strength of his nature enabled him to persist in a work which would have disheartened most men; he did a vast amount of good in individual cases, and saved numbers of the unfortunate victims of drink by his precept and example; but it must be acknowledged that the misery and crimes due to strong drinks still form some of the greatest difficulties in the way of the much boasted progress of mankind towards a higher civilization.

Electoral reform, Church reform, Land reform, Prison

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[1] Page 261.

reform, Educational reform, were amongst the changes of his day to which he gave attention, and about which he wrote and spoke; and whilst strong enough he was one of the constant attenders at meetings for sanitary reform, and many other movements for local improvement which have been mentioned in the foregoing pages; he was quite opposed to capital punishment, and during his life he witnessed important changes in the public mind as to the value of that extreme penalty, which is now inflicted in cases of murder only.

It has been already stated that on questions in which absolute moral right was not perfectly and unmistakably defined—because we are yet ignorant of the true social laws—he could take a part for the whole; and that, like his friend O'Connell, he would accept in politics good laws, even though they were very defective and merely instalments; he did not regard politics as the great object of life, but merely as subsidiary means to enable mankind to work out their own improvement, and he was very far from believing that any especial *name*, applied to any system of rule or of misrule, could be a certain guarantee of Liberty! It is generally supposed that ultra-liberals and advocates of self-government must of necessity be also enthusiastic republicans; and in theory this general opinion has been based on the idea that a Republic ought to be the government, or rather the administration of the affairs of a nation, according to the *will* of the people, with equal political justice and liberty for all; but his sound common sense and clear perception of the facts of the world enabled him to judge how very far separated at times are the real and the ideal. His sentiments of loyalty have been already more than once mentioned, and these sentiments were steadily increased by his respect for our Queen, whose

reign over the United Kingdom has been so truly constitutional,[1] and whom he regarded as a sterling example to her people in her duties as a wife and as a mother. His knowledge of the actual condition of *mis*government in nearly all the nations of the world confirmed his very early opinions, when writing of the absolute rule of Napoleon Bonaparte—'Our Constitution, defective as it is, protects the subjects from that tyranny;' and neither the history of the past nor of his own time made him wish for doubtfully good or unconstitutional changes.[2] He knew that few rulers had proved themselves to be more cruel and more tyrannical than the republicans of Venice in her days of grandeur and in her days of decadence; he knew that the model modern European republic of Switzerland had long maintained—and still to some extent retains—restrictive laws and regulations relative to residence of workmen, police supervision, and conscription, from all of which we had been long since relieved, except at times of popular violence or attempted rebellion; he had watched with great interest

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[1] The above was written many months ago, and now receives striking confirmation in the "Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort," by Theodore Martin, 2nd vol., p. 308. From a memorandum written by the Prince after his interview of 14th August with Lord Palmerston:—

"OSBORNE, *17th August*, 1850.

". . . . The Queen had often differed from the line of policy pursued. . . . . She had always openly stated her objections; but when overruled by the Cabinet, or convinced that it would, from political reasons, be more prudent to waive her objections, she knew her Constitutional position too well not to give her full support to whatever was done on the part of the Government."

This is not the place to allude to Lord Palmerston's management of the Foreign Office; the extract is merely given to show Her Majesty's judgment as to her "Constitutional position."

[2] Appendix H., page 302.

and with much hope the republican experiment across the Atlantic, and he saw them for three-quarters of a century obstinate in sustaining "a system of slavery the most demoralizing, the most debasing that ever cursed humanity,"[1] and at length he saw the western pioneers of civilization appeal to the "ultima ratio regum,"[2] having failed to discover how to reconcile their internal differences without resorting to the old world system of deciding questions by mutual slaughter. As to our brilliant and talented neighbours in France, he could not applaud their attempts to found ideal republics, which he had seen twice swept away, because of their want of real knowledge of liberty.[3]

He often objected to the extravagant expenditure in our various departments of State, but, on the whole, he thought that we had, at a comparatively cheap rate, bought peace at home, and saved ourselves from the civil wars and revolutions which seem to be chronic maladies, or rather periodic pestilences, in other parts of the world.

This memoir cannot be more suitably concluded than by the following letters from two men who are both so capable of appreciating the amount of support gained by the reformers of the world from the encouragement and co-operation of true-hearted and thorough-going friends: the first is from Dr. Mad-

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[1] Rev. Thaddeus O'Malley, in a letter against John Mitchell, when candidate for Tipperary.—*Freeman*, 12th February, 1875.

[2] On the breech of cannon at Monaco.

[3] The third attempt, in 1870, promises better success (1877); they talk less of Fraternité and Egalité, and seem to think more of Liberté: and the Government and the two Chambers are acting with constitutional prudence, so that France has marvellously recovered her losses, and has regained her important place in Europe. Page 252.

den, the well-known author and traveller in many lands:—

"3, VERNON TERRACE, BOOTERSTOWN,
"*16th July*, 1874.

"MY DEAR MR. HAUGHTON,

"I was very glad to find by your note your good father's memory will not be left unrecorded. I was away from Ireland from the year 1820 to the latter part of 1849, with the exception of short visits in 1824, 1828, 1833, 1837, 1840, 1849. I can say nothing about the date of the origin of your father's relations with O'Connell and also J. Sturge, but I can say with perfect confidence, that no man could be held in higher esteem by both O'Connell and Sturge than your revered father was. I have, I believe, known all the leading anti-slavery advocates of England, the United States, of France, and of our own country, of the past five-and-twenty years; and thus I rank the anti-slavery champions of those countries in point of eminence for zeal in this cause, for fidelity to it, and life-long devotion to its interests, in my estimate of them:—Thos. Clarkson.—Sir Thos. Fowell Buxton.—Joseph Sturge.—Daniel O'Connell.—James Haughton.—William Lloyd Garrison.[1]—Lewis Tappan.—Richard Webb.

"The dates of origin of movements in favour of the Abolition of Slavery, Capital Punishment, Drunkenness, War, &c., I cannot give you. The great thing I would like to see—not lightly touched on, or on a few occasions adverted to, but largely dealt with—frequently noticed and strongly commended in any life or memoir of the labours of James Haughton in behalf of his fellow-creatures—is the perfect purity, simplicity, and unsectarianism[2] of his life-long zeal in every cause he devoted all the powers of his soul, all the faculties of his mind, all the desires of his heart, all the energies and instincts of his being to; whether in favour of human freedom of men of all climes, creeds, and complexions; of temperance, of the abolition of the punishment of death, of an unsectarian love of his fellow-crea-

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[1] Although Wm. Lloyd Garrison was younger and later in the field (before 1830) than a few of above-named, he ought to rank first, when we recollect that he was facing persecution daily, and was in frequent personal danger—Miss Martineau spoke of forty years ago in the States as "the reign of terror"—in addition to public odium, which was the greatest risk of British Abolitionists; indeed, for the time mentioned, public opinion in Europe sustained them. As an anti-slavery man Dr. Madden himself is entitled to rank amongst the first. The name of R. D. Webb was better known in America than that of James Haughton.

[2] All who have read the Memoir must have observed how thoroughly religious and *un*sectarian was his life.

tures and desire for their happiness here and hereafter. None of his friends more truly honour his memory than his old friend,

"And yours,

"RICHARD ROBERT MADDEN.'

There has been some difficulty in selecting between the following letter and an article entitled "In Memoriam," by Mr. Garrison in the *Christian Union* of New York, 9th April, 1873: most of which was republished in the *Dublin Morning Mail* of 29th May, under the heading "Three distinguished Irishmen." That article is addressed more especially to Americans, and brings prominently forward the unity of anti-slavery feeling between his two old friends—James Haughton and R. D. Webb—and Daniel O'Connell; Mr. Garrison quotes an extract from one of O'Connell's great anti-slavery speeches made in the Conciliation Hall, James Haughton in chair: that extract is given here because it so thoroughly declares the life-long opinions and acts of the speaker and of the chairman :—

"Good Heaven! can Irishmen be found to justify or palliate a system which seeks to reduce to the condition of slaves millions of human beings; which closes against them not only the light of human science, but the rays of Divine Revelation, and the doctrines which the Son of God came upon earth to plant? The man who will do so belongs not to my kind. Over the broad Atlantic I pour forth my voice, saying, Come out of such a land, you Irishmen; or if you remain, and dare to countenance the system of slavery that is supported there, we will recognize you as Irishmen no longer. . . . . Let them execrate me in America—let their support be taken from Ireland—slavery, I denounce you wherever you are.

"Though this be a blow against Ireland, it is a blow in favour of human liberty, and I will strike that blow. Come freedom—come oppression of Ireland—my conscience shall be clear before God. We may not get money from America after this declaration, but we do not want blood-stained money."

Mr. Garrison hardly says too much when he writes of above :—

"I do not remember anything finer than this from the lips of any European or American patriot."

From the Freeman's Journal, Thursday, April 10, 1873.

"WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND JAMES HAUGHTON.

"Testimony of esteem and affection from across the Atlantic must always be deemed of immense value as tending to tighten the bonds of brotherhood which all wise and good men anxiously wish to see uniting our nations; but when such testimony comes from such a man as William Lloyd Garrison it is beyond price. One of the founders, the long acknowledged leader of the Abolition party, a sufferer and almost a martyr in the cause of his oppressed fellow-men, he has lived to see freedom triumph, even though unfortunately it has been a consequence of deadly warfare. We need hardly call attention to the beauty of the language and the Christian feeling which pervade his letter:—

"'BOSTON,

"'*March 24th*, 1873.

"'DEAR MR. HAUGHTON,

"'Having been previously advised of the failing health of your beloved father, the intelligence of his death does not take me wholly by surprise, especially as he had nearly reached the octogenarian period; nevertheless, it affects me profoundly. It was in the summer of 1840, at the World's Anti-slavery Convention, held in London, that our acquaintance and friendship began, which time only served to strengthen and intensify. Though the Atlantic ocean rolled between us, preventing our meeting face to face, except at long intervals, there was a constant communion of spirit, and for more than thirty years we were co-labourers in the broad field of philanthropy and reform, the pulsations of our hearts beating in unison, and all our desires, aims, and efforts running in the same channel. No one ever entered into that field with more thoroughness of conviction, or more earnestness of purpose, than himself. He had qualities that admirably fitted him for his chosen work, and rounded his character to noble proportions. As to his habitual deportment, he was a gentleman in the finest sense of that term—amiable, refined, courteous, dignified. His self-respect was absolute, without a particle of self-inflation. The erectness of his person symbolised that of his soul. He could stoop to nothing mean or ill-mannered. To whatever branch of reform he turned his attention, he carried his understanding, conscience, and heart, all his faculties and powers. His zeal was tempered with sobriety, his boldness with circumspection, his firmness with reason. He believed what he uttered, never indulging in mere sentimentalism, nor dealing in circumlocution, but calling things by their right names, and coming right to the point. If he was an iconoclast, he struck at no image that ought not to be cast down. As a reformer, he was inflexible in his adherence to principle; his reliance for success was upon the truth, the

whole truth, and nothing but the truth, spoken in the love of it; in building the temple of righteousness, there must be no daubing with untempered mortar; the tree that brings forth evil fruit must be hewn down and cast into the fire; the path of the Lord must be made straight, not labyrinthian. He eschewed all worldly expediency, and could enter into no compromise with unrighteousness. His battle-cry was, "Let justice be done, though the heavens fall!" As a philanthropist, he forgot no form of suffering humanity at his own door, he overlooked none in all the world. With Terence he could truly say—"Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto." In the cause of education, of temperance, of anti-slavery, of peace, and of other kindred movements for the elevation of mankind, he laboured in season and out of season, bore faithful testimony and exercised a wide influence. His example was a manifold benediction. How he sympathised with his suffering fellow-countrymen, and sought to relieve them from the heavy burdens under which they are staggering, in consequence of intoxicating liquor—the sure remedy being not to touch, or taste, or handle the unclean thing! How he yearned for the regeneration of Ireland, using at all times his best efforts to that end! He was a chain-breaker in the struggle for the abolition of American slavery, doing it valuable service in various ways at home, and by his words of cheer to the American Abolitionists, many of whom still survive to revere and bless his memory. A most earnest advocate of universal peace, he recognised the brotherhood of the human race, and exerted himself to usher in that joyful day when wars shall come to a perpetual end, every man sitting under his own vine and fig-tree, with none to molest or make afraid. This tribute I would greatly extend, most sincerely and with unalloyed delight, but you will exact of me no stronger proof of my estimate of your father's worth. I have always deemed it a fortunate day for me when we first met and clasped hands fraternally. With what seem the trivial accidents of life, how many important events are often subsequently connected. It was on the occasion alluded to that I also first saw another worthy citizen of Dublin, who was a co-delegate with your father to the same body, who laboured with him in the same vineyard of humanity, who deserves to be long and well remembered on both sides of the Atlantic, and for whose memory I cherish a most affectionate regard—I mean the late Richard D. Webb. To him the anti-slavery movement in the United States was largely indebted for his efficient co-operation from 1840 until the year of Jubilee was proclaimed. It is not many months since he saw "the last of earth:" and now, my dear Mr. Haughton, your honoured father has been similarly summoned hence—a happy reunion on their part—a sharp bereavement on ours. The world is indeed better for their having lived in it. Better than genius, or learning, or eloquence, or versatile talent, is character—character so upright as to defy calumny, so reliable as in every emergency to inspire absolute confidence, and so beautiful as to justify the

highest appreciation. Such was theirs. Proffering my heartfelt sympathy to you and your sisters,

"'I remain,

"'Yours in a common loss,

"'WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

"'SAMUEL HAUGHTON, ESQ.'"

Obituary notices and accounts of the funeral appeared in all the Dublin papers, and in many in England, America, and the Colonies: these notices were of considerable length, especially in the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Mail*, and the *Irish Times*; all wrote in laudatory terms of his persistent efforts for the welfare of the people, and general summaries were given of the various movements in which he had taken active part.

The funeral was unusually large, even for Ireland, and was attended to Mount Jerome Cemetery on the morning of the 24th of February, 1873, by nearly all classes and sects of his fellow-citizens: many Temperance Societies walked in procession amidst the long line of carriages.

"So when a good man dies,
For years beyond our ken,
The light he leaves behind him lies
Upon the paths of men."

LONGFELLOW.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SOME ADDITIONAL EXTRACTS FROM HIS LETTERS AND SPEECHES.

A.

TO HIS ELDEST BROTHER.

"'13*th August*, 1836.

'. . . . I am of opinion that Banks are likely to be of great service in this country, and that it is probable they will prosper with the improving prosperity of our people, of which I see no reason to doubt a continuance, unless the unfortunate Tithe question, or the fanatical bigotry of contending parties should plunge us into civil war; but I have not much fear of this result, having a good deal of dependence on the steadiness and forbearance of the popular party and its leaders.'

TO SAME.

"'*February*, 1837.

'. . . . The Tory party have had the management of affairs all over Europe since the days of Voltaire (with but very few intervals of what I would call a more healthy management); it is no wonder that mankind have improved so little. I hope we stand a fairer chance henceforward. Yet it is to be feared that Voltaire's "large proportion of fools" is stil'

to be found amongst the hereditary legislators, and that they will yet awhile act as a drag-chain on national improvement.'

To SAME.

'*January*, 1837.

'. . . . I have written to you about barley;[1] I do not like the trade; this grain is almost exclusively used in this country in the manufacture of intoxicating drinks. Whiskey is a great curse to our country; and I am daily acquiring a greater abhorrence of this persecutor of man and destroyer of his happiness.'

So far only against whiskey; but more than two years later, after he had adopted Total Abstinence, he wrote:

'. . . It is worth making some sacrifice for the good of our fellow-men. My decision has been rather painful to me in some respects,[2] but the consciousness that I have done right repays me.'

B.

'To THE BIBLE CHRISTIAN.

'34, ECCLES-STREET, DUBLIN,
'*February* 10, 1840.

'. . . . My present object is to try to induce Irishmen of every rank and of every profession to forget their religious animosities, and their envenomed party feelings, so far, at least, as this great question is concerned, and to unite for the purpose of conferring a great and lasting benefit on their country. Most people are aware of the existence of Tee-total Associations in various places, but many may be quite unaware of the great good effected by them. Within the last twelve months a great moral revolution has been effected in Munster, and in many districts of our other three Provinces,

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[1] Page 19.

[2] Because of decided difference of opinion, although without quarrel or dissension, with near friends.

chiefly by the Rev. Theobald Mathew, a Roman Catholic priest of Cork. He has devoted the energies of a noble mind to a good and patriotic cause; and so successful have been his efforts, that about 600,000 individuals have come to the resolution to give up at once and for ever the use of all kinds of intoxicating drink. In a little time, I have no doubt that the number of pledged Tee-totallers in Ireland will amount to 1,000,000.[1]

'. . . . We hear a great deal of talk about patriotism; we hear a great deal said about the necessity of diffusing right notions of morality and religion among our people; yet the whole country is agitated by the intentions of men who appear more anxious to keep alive the spirit of discord than to spread the blessings of peace around them. Tee-totallers have no wish to deaden patriotic feeling in the breast of any man; their desire is to kindle it into a purer and a brighter flame, to make it expand and glow with a warmth heretofore unknown among us; we want to induce men to "love one another," to unite heart and hand in furtherance of a glorious regeneration of our country, of a change in our national habits, which would assuredly spread abroad in our cottages peace and plenty, instead of their present inmates, misery and want.

'. . . . The poor are willing to listen to our advice, and are joining our associations with alacrity; the rich keep aloof; and the clergy, whose peculiar duty is to lead their flocks in the paths of virtue, give but little support to the good work. What, my dear sir, is the cause of this? Are they so enslaved to their drinking customs, that they cannot give them up for the benefit of their fellow-men? If a better plan for effecting the great object we have in view can be found, let it be followed, but let us not be idle when the good of our fellow-men calls us to be up and doing. Unitarian Christians are not at liberty to be careless spectators of the greatest reformation which has occupied the

[1] Page 169.

mind of man in modern times; we shall be false to our professions as followers of our Great Leader who "went about doing good," if we do not come zealously forward to promote a cause so fraught with blessings; and which must, if we pursue it in singleness of heart and with humility of spirit, gain for us peace of mind and, I hope and believe, the blessing of Almighty God, as a reward for our labours for the promotion of peace and love.'

To his eldest Brother.

'*11th April*, 1840.

'I was much pleased with Father Mathew; the heart must be hard as the nether millstone, that would not feel a sympathy for him in his benevolent labours; he appears to be possessed of untiring cheerfulness. I hope the reformation he is leading on with such rapid strides may be permanent. If our people should ever again relapse into intemperate habits, the sin will lie at the doors of those who keep alive our drinking customs.'

C.

To ———

'*17th August*, 1841.

'. . . We had a fine anti-slavery meeting in the Music Hall. Remond[1] and L'Instant[2] took their departure on Tuesday night. The former is an extraordinary young fellow, singularly gifted, and well fitted by his talents and the admirable tendency of his mind to assist in the progress of human improvement. He disarms prejudice by his amiable manners, and he reaches the heart by his eloquence and the truthfulness of his statements. I liked L'Instant more and more as I

[1] A coloured New England gentleman.

[2] M. L'Instant de Pradine. A coloured Haytian gentleman, author of a prize essay, "Sur les moyens d'extirper les Préjugés des Blancs contre la couleur des Africaines et des Sang-melés." In 1857, Minister from Emperor of Haiti to London.

became acquainted with him; he has not been in his own country for about eight years, and is studying law in Paris.'

D.

A few extracts from a letter to William Lloyd Garrison, dated Dublin, 15th September, 1842, and published in the *Liberator*, Boston, 14th Oct. 1842 :—

'Teetotalism is spreading so rapidly in your land and in my own I have great hopes that *it* is but the harbinger of a brighter day; and that truth, and love and Christianity, will yet overshadow the earth and banish the greater part of the misery which affects our race. I am happy to tell you that Father Mathew goes on conquering. Our people are all with him, and great and increasing are their happiness and prosperity; but the merchants, the traders, the gentry, and the great ones of the land are too proud and too foolish to lay hold on the simple mode he offers them for effecting their own and their country's regeneration. Why is this? How does it happen that morality and virtue do not go hand-in-hand with wealth and intellectual improvement?

'My friend Rogers tells me that some change has come over his religious views. I do not know what either of you profess, but I think your *works are Christian*. I am an Unitarian Christian; but I dislike bigoted sectarianism of all kinds; I look upon it as one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, hindrances that exist to the spread of that love, the existence of which in our minds is essential, if we would have any title to the honoured name of Christian. . . . . I often think of the few happy hours I have spent in your society.[1] It is hardly likely we shall ever meet again in this world.[2] I hope we shall know each other in heaven. I have no love for the sea, but I sometimes think, if freedom were declared in your land, that I would like to sail over to you and add my voice to the loud shout of your universal jubilee; but I

[1] In London and Dublin, 1840.

[2] Again, in London, 1846; and in Manchester, 1867.

could not now breathe in America; I dare not think aloud there, and live. With all our degradation we have no deep damning stain like that upon us in Ireland.'

E.

The following (selected from several in other years) appeared in 1842, in the *Liberty Bell*, an annual published in Boston, U.S.A., during the years of the anti-slavery struggle. It was edited by Mrs. Chapman (Maria Weston Chapman). At various times poems and articles were published by J. Pierpoint, J. R. Lowell, H. W. Longfellow, Alaric A. Watts, Elizabeth B. Browning, Rev. W. H. Furness, Lucretia Mott, Sir John Bowring, Harriet Martineau, Wendell Phillips, W. L. Garrison, R. D. Webb, Lord Carlisle, Theodore Parker, Dr. R. R. Madden, W. and M. Howitt, Thomas Clarkson, George Thompson, M. L'Instant de Pradine, John Quincy Adams, J. Mazzini, Mary Carpenter, John Morley, R. W. Emerson, Emile Souvestre, Gustave de Beaumont, M. Arago, M. Remusat, Rev. Moncure D. Conway, R. Monckton Milnes, M. P. (Lord Houghton); M. Ampère, Caroline H. Dall, &c., &c.

'A Voice from Erin.

'*By James Haughton.*

'Liberty Bell! Liberty Bell! How peculiarly beautiful the title—the dream of some mind nearly akin to poetry and to heaven. There is something delicious in the silvery tones of even the tiny bells; and how sublime the grand and melodious swell of the large-mouthed bell flinging its magnificent tones to the winds of heaven! Heaven seems around and within us, when such peaceful and sweet music rests upon our ears. So it is when we wake the echoes of our mountains; the sound bursts forth in full and magnificent volume, wandering from hill to hill, momentarily getting fainter, until it dies away, seeming never to lose all trace of its sweetness.

'If my friend G. B. should chance to cast his eyes on these lines they will serve to recall to his memory a happy day spent with a distant friend among the mountains of our sweet

County Wicklow, where we made lake and mountain ring again until echo seemed to carry beloved names on its untiring pinions to earth's remotest limits—names as familiar as household words in the affections of the friends of humanity, and dreaded sounds in the ears of "soul-drivers" all the world over; we gave them freely to the echoes which they woke in this wild scenery, and it seems to me that they will never be allowed to die away, until the voices of the mountains are hushed by the chant of "Peace on earth and good will to man."

'Is this too fanciful or too enthusiastic an idea? *I hope not —I believe not.* The Liberty Bell is fixed on the world's watch tower; devoted watchmen have hold of its cord; and as the sacred fire in the Temple was ever kept alive, so will its cheering tones ever ring out amid Freedom's passes until every chain shall be broken, and one loud shout shall proclaim the jubilee of universal emancipation.

'Is it to be Tyrants amid slaves, that Americans, with Liberty glowing on every page of their history, and the glorious Declaration of Independence upon their lips, have been found willing to degrade themselves? Shame on you! your blotted escutcheon is the scorn of the world. Your slave states, bankrupt in reputation, are rapidly verging to bankruptcy in property. Shake off the vile incubus which oppresses you! Make real your empty professions of freedom, and be what God designed you to be—the greatest and the noblest people on the face of the earth. Oh! it is a sad thing to witness the degradation of such a people. No American from any of the slave states can now place his foot upon the soil of my country, without feeling in his heart that he is an object of pity, if not of contempt. He may affect to despise these feelings on the part of foreigners, but he must first change his nature, before such contempt shot into his very soul from truth's own quiver can fail of its effects. He may taunt us with our own guilt, and it is true we are guilty: millions of shackles in the East Indies proclaim how guilty we are; but who holds his fellow-man in bondage? Principally, if not altogether, the semi-civilized man, unacquainted

with the mild precepts of Christianity; while with you, on the contrary, the great wickedness is upheld and justified by the *elite* of your society—by your cultivated minds. But the greatest and most intellectual men in your land feel how untenable is your position; how unjustifiable on any of the principles which Christendom acknowledges as the tests and the touchstones of our lives. A cold, heartless *expediency* is the rotten and unholy foundation on which alone you can build your misshapen frame of society. If you do not at once place it on the sure and permanent basis of justice and truth it will fall to pieces, and bring destruction on yourselves and on your children.

'DUBLIN, 34, *Eccles-street.*'

F.

The following remarks were made at the end of the Young Ireland Meeting, April, 1847 (p. 85), where he was Chairman: Mr. Haughton said, when putting a resolution:—'You have done me the kindness to call on me to preside over this great meeting. I am your servant this evening, and I shall put such resolutions as may be placed in my hands, but you will not expect me to relinquish my own opinions. Mr. O'Brien has called on you to sympathize with the people of Cracow: I heartily respond to that call. The inhabitants of that city may number some twenty or thirty thousand individuals. The appeal I made to you was on behalf of three millions of American slaves [cries of "question"]. Mr. M'Gee has told you that this address is the first manifesto which has been sent across the waters. It is my opinion that, if you sanction this address,[1] you will do a great wrong to your country [cries of "question, question"]. I am speaking of the address; and I have only to add, before putting it for your adoption or rejection, that it is addressed to a slaveholder.'

At close of meeting Mr. Haughton said:—'The business of

[1] Address to American Slave-holders.

the meeting, with the exception of receiving and enrolling new members, had now terminated; and before they separated he had a few painful words to address to his fellow-citizens. He felt that he was not in a right position there that evening; and, from what had occurred, a sadness had come over his heart. He had left the Repeal Association because liberty of speech was not permitted there to some of his young friends by whom he was then surrounded; and that night he, their Chairman, was the only person to whom liberty ofspeech was denied [cries of "no, no"]. He pleaded for liberty and humanity, and they would not hear him. Did they believe that the enemies of their cause would neglect to take advantage of this great error which they had committed? He believed in his heart it was a fatal error. He regretted the course which had been taken — he believed they had done wrong; and he could not leave them without expressing that painful conviction.'

A society for the preservation of the Irish language having been just formed (March, 1877), it may be here remarked, that Mr. Haughton was, thirty years ago, an original associate member of the Celtic Society, which published first (1847) the Book of Rights, edited by John Donovan, Esq., M.R.I.A.

G.

To ———

'*New Year's Day*, 1848.

'. . . . You are now amongst some of the glorious hills of our country; they raise their fronts to heaven, and seem to say to men, "high thoughts should be yours in our presence." I often think with great pleasure of my young days spent in Clogheen, when I looked in the morning on her snow-clad mountains, or gazed upon their solemn grandeur, when the bright moon shed her pale splendour over their giant proportions, and visions of the Majesty of the Creator vividly impressed my imagination. Frequently have I stood alone on such seasons, and, looking up into the blue heaven, almost

fancied I could see into the portals of Paradise. How sad it is that man, instead of being inheritor of noble thoughts, has his soul filled with "envy and all uncharitableness;" but I hope we'll mend, and that "there's a good time coming." I was busy at my plants this morning. . . . . Mrs. Child says, we'll find three beautiful things in heaven, "children, flowers, fresh air," and I guess she is right, for it would not be heaven without them. . . . . Well, after all, the Tipperary boys are not all "demonized." . . . . Yet I am no advocate for ladies driving home before daylight along a lonely road, for eight long miles, without some male help, in case a spring went astray, to say nothing of biped accidents, which indeed I take to be of little account.'[1]

To ———

'*January*, 1848.

' . . . . The world around us is now clothed in beauty: a heavy fall of snow last night, and it is still coming down in silent and lightsome loveliness; not a breath of air to disturb its quiet settlement on earth, where it rests like a baby sleeping on its pillow. The trees, and every little jutting branch and projecting corner, are fringed by the pure ermine of heaven; by-and-bye it will taste of the impurity which earth imparts; yet even here its mission is one of blessedness—to fertilize the yielding soil, and prepare our great Mother to give us from her fruitful bosom an abundant supply of "our daily bread." God is, indeed, bountiful to us.

'The fate of the miserable beings now under sentence of death is interesting some minds here. We are to have a meeting on the subject to-morrow; but the appetite for blood seems to be awakened, and I fear these men will be sacrificed on the altar of passion.' . . . .

'11th *Feb.*

'If all those who are convicted be executed, I trust such a feeling of horror will be created in the public mind

[1] So much for the "awfully unsafe" state of Ireland, even during the agrarian and rebellious year, 1848.

as will accelerate the overthrow of death punishment. . . . . Tell John that Jonathan Pim has written a good book, on the "Condition and Prospects of Ireland," for which he is likely to gain some celebrity. He recommends Government to make great changes in the tenure of land.'

'*5th March*, 1848.

'. . . . You ask me what I think of the new outrage in China, and you write as if the Chinese were altogether to blame. The only evidence we yet have goes to prove the reverse. Our people should give up all occupation of that country, and go there merely as traders. What should we think of the Chinese, if they insisted on their right to a particular quarter in London? But the Englishman's idea of right depends on power.'[1]

'*3rd December*, 1848.

'. . . . You seem to enjoy yourself much with your friends, moving from place to place, extracting honey like the bee from all the sweet flowers which kindness presents so freely for your use and benefit. It is pleasant to know that honey is to be found by all who seek for it rightly, in spite of the bitters that are mingled with the pleasures of life. . . . . I suppose you are now with ——; their greenhouse must look beautiful. A taste for plants affords much quiet enjoyment; it is pleasant to live a portion of our lives amongst those beautiful creations of God, which He causes to spring up under our care to gladden our hearts with their noiseless music. A little stone-chat has evinced the good taste to make our greenhouse his occasional residence; my entrance this morning sent him flying and chattering lest I should make a slave of him; I expect he will pay us many visits; if he knew but all, I would make him quite welcome, and never wish to make him a captive.'

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[1] The ideas of *all* civilized nations when dealing with the half-civilized.

H.

Joseph Barker was well known in England thirty years ago: at one time he published a small paper, *The People*, and he advocated the rights of the people with considerable force and justice, mixed up with much exaggeration. With him Mr. Haughton occasionally corresponded, approving many of his views, but also blaming many others as one-sided and unreasonable. A few extracts from a letter in autumn, 1848, are given here:—

'. . . . You speak of Republicanism and Democracy in contrast with Royalty and Aristocracy, as if the former were always pure and good, and the latter ever surrounded with evil and uncharitableness. Is this a correct view to lay before the people of these lands? Can we not point to history ancient and modern, and show that under republican and democratic forms of government tyranny has ruled with an iron sway, and injustice has prevailed to an extent not surpassed by the government of kings and their satellites in any age of the world.[1] . . . . You seem to speak in a tone of triumph of America and of France in the present day, as illustrations of the worth of republican institutions. Of France I now say nothing, as she cannot be said to have any institutions at present.[2]

'But, of America, how can you speak of her institutions in any other language than that of execration? If I had not, like yourself, much faith in the ultimate triumph of the principles of truth and justice among mankind, the conduct of the American people would not alone make me fly from, and abhor, democratic Government, but I should be driven to repudiate any form of Government which had a tendency to place power in the hands of the masses. But I have faith in the might of Right, and therefore it is that I unite with you, and other reformers, who claim for all the People all those rights and privileges that are now enjoyed only by a few. In

[1] Page 284.

[2] The nominal republic between abdication of Louis Philippe and election of Napoleon III.

urging this claim, I would not, however, address the people as if all their woes and miseries arose from the cupidity, the selfishness, and the misgovernment of their present rulers. These are, it is true, rapacious and bad enough; they maintain many laws that are unjust, for the purpose of securing an influence above their fellows, which they have no right to possess. These laws should be, and they will be one day or other, overthrown. But how, and by whose means are they kept on the Statute Book? Altogether by the might, and the power, and the will, of the people. The aristocracy would be powerless but for their army and navy. Who supplies them with the bone and sinew which enablès them to ride rough-shod over the people in all countries, whether the institutions of these countries be aristocratic or democratic, but the people themselves? Until the people are enlightened enough to see the folly of their conduct in this respect, it is a vain hope for us to expect that wealthy men will not use their wealth to secure and perpetuate an undue and dishonest share of power and influence in society.

'I do not believe it is within the compass of human power to overthrow what is usually understood as an aristocracy. If we have not the aristocracy of birth, we shall have the aristocracy of wealth. I do believe it is in the power of a community so to control such influences as to make them not only innoxious, but beneficial in society. The accumulation of wealth is not an evil. Without wealth, where would be all the comforts of civilized life? Without wealth, how would the people be employed? Capital is as necessary as labour, in calling forth the resources of a nation.

'The conclusions I arrive at from the foregoing reasoning are, that monarchical and republican forms of Government are neither good nor bad in themselves; that it is upon the virtue of the people themselves that their happiness depends; and not upon any great things that their rulers can do for them.

'As to the form of Government; I am in favour of that which our Constitution proposes; I think the arrangement of Queen, Lords, and Commons, is in accordance with the

natural sentiments of mankind, and quite capable of producing the largest amount of human happiness.

'. . . . I admire your fearless spirit, I sympathize with many of your opinions. I would not ask you to alter your course and moderate your expresssions if I did not fully believe that there is great danger that your present mode of writing is calculated to excite hatred, instead of calling into action that manly determination to seek after self-improvement, and to put down all oppression which should characterize every individual in the community. Selfishness exists in the bosom of the poor man as well as in that of the rich man; it needs to be rooted out of both.'

I.

JAMES HAUGHTON TO H. C. WRIGHT.

"35, ECCLES-STREET, DUBLIN,

"*3rd November*, 1848.

'TO HENRY C. WRIGHT.

'DEAR HENRY,—You want to hear sometimes of and from your European friends. We ought frequently to gratify your kindly feelings in this respect. I feel grateful to you for your constant remembrance of me, amid your glorious meetings in Ohio. I would indeed like to stand beside you on the platforms her people are ever erecting for the friends of the human race—platforms, whence the voice of humanity is rolling in deep tones, like the reverberating echoes around our own sweet Killarney mountains, to return back again to him who awakened them, and then again thunder in the distance as if the everlasting hills were holding a jubilee. When will America hold her jubilee of universal freedom, to thank those among her citizens — living and dead — who aroused the voice of humanity, which lay silent, but not silenced for ever, in her soul, until its awakened echoes frighted from her borders the demon Slavery, and left free the energies of her entire population? That glad day will yet arise. That we shall behold its light is doubtful; but it is pleasant to believe that we are doing a little to speed it

along. May your labours, my dear friend, and the labours of all who unite with you, in efforts to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free," be greatly successful. . . . .

'Among a population such as yours, so universally educated, and with minds trained to reason on all subjects brought before them, we may reasonably expect that the principles of truth and justice will rapidly take a firmer hold, and that the day is not far distant[1] when they will rise up in power and majesty, and overturn the horrible oppression which embrutes so large a portion of the children of your soil. The cry of "No union with slaveholders—no fellowship with man-stealers," should be taken up by every American who would wish to wash away the dark stain which slavery casts upon his country's honour. . . . .

'Your description of American life in the woods is enough to make us hungry Irishmen long to be partakers, and you make the teeth of a vegetarian like me water at the bare enumeration of the goodly eatables laid before you; our people are going off in tens of thousands to share in all those luxuries which Nature spreads with lavish hand over your country. My sweet tooth would dip into your peach pies with great gusto; such ambrosial food is never dreamed of here; our farmers, indeed! to aspire to such a luxury even as apple-pie (to say nothing of peach pie), the idea is ludicrous; all the institutions of society would be dissolved, and we should fall into confusion—or into elysium (perhaps you can tell which)—if anything beyond "potatoes and point" (which means a potato in the fingers, and a bit of rusty bacon up in the corner, to point at, to make the morsel savoury!) entered into their imaginations. The truth is, the Irish population, including even a large portion of the class called farmers—persons who rent and till land—have, until within the last three years, lived almost entirely upon potatoes; blight, of some inexplicable nature, having destroyed these, famine, and all its fearful results, have been the consequence. Many, very many, who have some little means still left, are

[1] Fifteen years distant, during the war, 1861-65.

gathering them together, and in fleeing to your hospitable shores are seeking a happier destiny than awaits them at home. Some, I hear, are carrying with them the produce of this year's crops, and defrauding their landlords. Many of the latter class are now paying dearly for their own and their forefathers' neglect of duty. Neither individuals nor nations can pursue a course at variance with rectitude, without preparing for themselves a severe retribution. . . . . You have probably seen some account, in the newspapers, of the degraded position in which we have been placed by the attempts made to excite our people to redress their wrongs through the agency of physical force. The means adopted by the well-meaning, but misguided men, for effecting their object, were so inadequate, that an air of complete ridicule has been cast over the whole affair; so much so, that I feel as if the statement of facts, as they are ever occurring, would, at a future day, be regarded as fabulous, but for the trials arising out of them, which will be indubitable evidence of the folly of the whole proceeding. You know the opinion I entertain of physical force, as a means of promoting truth and justice, and freedom, among mankind. I believe it has always failed, and that it will always fail, in effecting these objects. But, as regards poor Ireland, in the present day, the leaders of her revolutionary movements seem to have been led away by headstrong enthusiasm, which blinded them to the necessity of ascertaining the real strength of their party; and when the time of action came, they were literally powerless as little children before their adversaries, and they fled. And great indeed must have been their privations, as they were hunted from place to place; some escaped, some were taken, and others are probably still hiding from their pursuers. I knew several of these devoted men, personally, and I esteem them for their many good and amiable qualities, but none of them have any true appreciation of Liberty. They saw their country poor and miserable, stricken down by the hand of power; they blamed England for all her sorrows, and they determined, if possible, to overturn the power of the oppressor; and so that their object was attained, they were regardless of the means by which it was accomplished.

'In the early part of the movement of the Irish Confederates, I sympathized with them for the cause of their secession from the old association, and I joined their party, for the purpose of asserting the right of free thought and free speech, but I was soon obliged to retire. I could not sanction a course of violent proceedings, which engendered the hatred of Englishmen, and which led directly to civil war. I could not sanction the reception of money and sympathy from your "soul drivers," for it appeared to me altogether opposed to those principles of freedom which the Confederation professed to honour and uphold, to take by the hand men whose lives were spent in striving to make stronger and stronger the fetters on millions whom they held in unjust bondage. Was I not right, Henry, in protesting against conduct so reprehensible as this? Was I not right in concluding that no good could result from such a miserable policy, and in telling my countrymen that I could not labour with them on such conditions? The mind of Ireland needs enlightenment on this question of Freedom. We are still clouded with error on the subject; and when, or how, the cataract shall be removed from our eyes I cannot divine. The conduct of the physical force reformers here, and of the physical force Chartists in England, has given an advantage to the Ruling Powers such as they could never have secured but for the folly of their opponents; some are now lying under sentence of death; others are banished from home and family connexions; others are in prison, awaiting their trial; their power is entirely prostrated. Our only hope for the future lies in the expectation that the events which are shaking the thrones of Europe to their foundations will induce our Rulers to act with equity in future, and quietly grant to the people those privileges which all, who are called on to obey the Laws, and contribute of their substance to the maintenance of our institutions, ought to be in the possession of.

'A public demonstration, arising out of the unhappy circumstances by which we are now surrounded, has just taken place in this city, which is of a most pleasing character. On

the conviction and sentence of William Smith O'Brien, a young gentleman named Ralph, and Richard D. Webb, called upon me, and urged the propriety of getting up a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant to spare his life. We set to work at once, and in a few days twenty-five thousand names were attached to the memorial. Men of all ranks, and parties, and creeds, came forward spontaneously on the occasion, and testified their disapproval of death punishment for political offences. It is now understood that Government has conceded that point, and that no blood of any of the prisoners will be shed on the scaffold.[1] This is a great point gained; a strong blow given to the practice of death punishment for any crime. I trust that relic of a barbarous age will, ere long, be erased from our statute-book. A great deal of fine feeling was manifested on the occasion of this memorial: hundreds of our young men pressed forward ardently. If we could interest them on the general question of punishment for offences, in a moral and peaceful union for the overthrow of oppression at home, and slavery abroad; in a zeal for the temperance reformation; in a love for the diffusion of education among the poor, and in other matters in behalf of humanity, a great work would be done. I have felt of late, more strongly than ever, that there is virtue enough among the people to save the land; the difficulty is, to concentrate and bring into action the moral power, which is inert and dormant amongst us. . . . . I hope with you, that the glorious cry of "No union with slaveholders" will soon re-echo throughout your land. That your mountains and your valleys, your mighty rivers and your boundless prairies, will take up the sound, and carry it into the hearts of the people. Once there, it will, like any other true principle, take root, and grow, and flourish, and be victorious.

'You tell me of the destruction of the potato in Ohio, and that its loss will not be felt by the people. Happy people! May they engraft the idea, that man is superior to all institutions, in their hearts and in their actions, and be happy for ever.

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[1] Page 88.

'In Ireland too, the potato has again failed; it is lost, I apprehend, by half an average crop, this season. Great will be the suffering in consequence. We shall need much of your Indian corn, to supply our wants; and, if we can get on reasonable terms, it will be a fine substitute, much better than the original. Farewell.

'Yours, ever sincerely,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.'

J.

'To —— *at Tramore.*

'*30th June*, 1850.

'. . . . Yesterday I attended Dr. Harvey's[1] concluding lecture at the Glasnevin Gardens; and there I thought over what had occurred to me many a time before, and which the lecturer's illustrations brought again freshly to my mind—the power of habit. The accumulation of all that we see around us—the mountains, the plains, the seas, the rivers, the trees, the flowers, are all made up of minute particles, the aggregation of which completes the mighty whole; the oak is shut up in the acorn; the man comes from the tiny baby, and his habits, whether good or bad, are imperceptibly formed, so that it is essential for their noblest development that the child be placed under happy influences. He should neither smoke a little, nor drink a little, nor do a little of anything which has a tendency to lead him in a wrong direction, for it is by little and little that the good or ill are fixed by habit as a portion of his being. Fathers and mothers take too little thought about these things, for their little ones have the chains of habit as surely fixing their characters as the noxious weed and the wholesome grain are each deriving nutriment from the same earth, by so slow a process that until both are at maturity we see not the results. See what a learned essay

[1] Author of valuable botanical works, and Professor in Trinity College until his death, and in the Royal Dublin Society for several years.

has sprung from the contemplation of the origin and growth of a little leaf!

'*14th July.*

'. . . . A quiet day for reflection and enjoyment, and for rest from our usual absorbing avocations is a great blessing to mankind; but, that Christians should endeavour to impress upon their Sabbath any peculiar holiness is really absurd; however, men will entertain different views to the end of the chapter. What we should strive to establish is, not harmony of opinion, but, toleration of one another's sentiments. . . . I am now reading an interesting book by a Mr. Kay, an Englishman, who spent eight years on the Continent acquiring a knowledge of the habits and circumstances of the inhabitants of various European nations. The contrast he draws between them and England is highly unfavourable to the latter. True, civilization appears to be spread more widely almost everywhere in Europe than amongst ourselves.[1] The great blessing in many Continental countries seems to be, that the people are highly educated, and they are enabled by their laws to become the owners in fee of small portions of land; that is, to purchase land and not to have to pay any rent for it . . . . I wish we could find out how to improve the condition of our people. Teetotalism would do it to a great extent if we could get all to adopt the principle; but with all our labours we cannot move the wealthy classes.

K.

To his Son.

'*18th March*, 1852.

'. . . . The cottage of the poor man is rendered desolate by strong drink; the mansion of the rich man often bewails the hopeless fate of its brightest ornament, and yet the ma-

[1] Joseph Kay's "Social Condition of the People in England and Europe 1850;" he wrote more of Germany than other countries, and he touched but little on their want of political liberty.

jority look quietly on, and say, with the wiseacre on board the sinking ship, when called on to pump, "it is no affair of mine, it is the captain's business."'

'*28th.*

'. . . . Bastiat was a first-rate man.[1] I don't think you do political economy justice, even supposing it to be merely a science for creation of wealth; but it is by no means so confined in its application. Wealth is but the means to an end—that end is happiness, and it does not depend on a single cause. Men will seek after wealth; and the science which teaches them the right way of attaining that universal desire is surely worth studying. If we make a bad use of wealth, or place too high a value on it as a means of happiness, the fault is with us, and not with the science. We do not condemn gravitation, if a man who has not learned to swim is drowned when he falls into deep water; or if a man is dashed to pieces from tumbling down a precipice which he ought to have avoided. Neither do we blame the storm which purifies the atmosphere, when it sometimes in its violence tumbles down houses which should have been built stronger. So it is with all the laws of God; it is our business to make ourselves acquainted with them, and to use them in the promotion of happiness, which depends upon our adherence to them. Men are too anxious about wealth as a mere acquisition, but I think they are far too careless of prudent accumulation. I, therefore, look on the science which teaches its accumulation as being essential; but its wise distribution is a matter of quite as great importance. . . . . A committee met here last evening to renew our application to Government on behalf of William Smith O'Brien and his brother-exiles; we are going to make a strenuous exertion for their free pardon.'[2][3]

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[1] French Economist, and author of popular works of great value.

[2] Page 105—115.

[3] Although James Haughton believed fighting to be sinful, and that in the condition of Ireland it was a senseless effort, yet he had a high esteem for Smith O'Brien. This effort for his liberation failed, yet Mr. O'Brien deeply felt the kind sympathy shown by his friends, and writing from Van

'Mesmerism is one of the wonders which we may not refuse to believe in, but in which we ought not to place implicit faith without the fullest evidence to satisfy our doubts and our judgment; as a thing of mere curious speculation, I think little of it, but if it be destined as a new revelation to man, we cannot look upon it with too much veneration; by-and-by it may be made clearer to our apprehension.

'*4th April.*

'. . . . Political Economy is but a single science or truth; man, to be rational and happy, must learn and practise other great truths also. Lawson commences his course of four Barrington lectures[1] to-morrow evening at Royal Dublin Society; I must attend for the honour of the Statistical; but, indeed, to hear Lawson[2] at any time is a treat. The Government is not behaving well in relation to Cuffe-street Savings' Bank; it affords a clear case against them, and yet there now seems little prospect of any further redress.'[3]

TO THE SAME.

'35, ECCLES-STREET,

'*1st January*, 1853.

'. . . . The world is now running mad towards the gold region of Australia, where men hope to realize fortune and to secure happiness, but they who thus dream will find that they are not convertible terms. From some cause, those who remain at home are better off than usual, not that wages are as yet much affected, but all are employed; every interest

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Dieman's Land to Mr. Haughton he concluded:—"As it is impossible for me to say all that I feel, I shall content myself with assuring you, that as I entertain a most pleasing recollection of all the intercourse which has taken place between us, so this recent evidence of your friendly regard greatly augments my esteem for your character." He wrote in a similar strain after his return from exile, in 1856.

[1] A fund bequeathed by the late John Barrington to promote knowledge of Political Economy.

[2] Now the Right Hon. Mr. Justice Lawson.

[3] Page 141.

seems thriving. . . . . The few words you write of the pleasure you felt "once more touching *British ground!*" when you set foot on Malta, reveals more of the real degradation of man in mis-governed Europe than all you have written on the subject before!'

'*5th May.*

'. . . . I can quite appreciate your feelings at the near prospect of setting your foot on the Holy Land; so many of our earliest, most cherished, and most lasting associations are connected with the life of our dear Saviour, it must be felt, even by his most thoughtless followers, to be an event of deep interest in their lives to tread upon the same land over which he wandered during his short pilgrimage on earth, and to behold scenes which he hallowed with his presence and rendered immortal by the loving precepts he left on record. Would that we were all more imbued with his spirit. Perhaps, at some future era of man's history, our race will more certainly know the value and the happiness of living in unity; with the Bible in one hand and a sword in the other no good will ever be accomplished.'

L.

From notes of a visit to London, September, 1853:—

'We went to that glorious and most interesting of all the London sights—fine, old, imposing Westminster Abbey. As we arrived there during morning service, we had to wait about an hour before we were permitted to take the usual round of the wonders of this Cathedral. I do not recollect ever before to have heard the Church service chaunted, and although singing was good, it did not impress me as a suitable means of conducting the worship of the Almighty: the solemn grandeur of the place, the surrounding monuments, and the quietude, have certainly their due effect on the mind, but I was not by any means deeply impressed by the ceremony. It seemed to me a ceremony to be performed, not a work of the heart. Similar feelings have impressed my mind

when I have occasionally witnessed the gorgeous ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. Our simple Unitarian mode of worship accords better with my feelings, but even it is sometimes too lifeless to be very refreshing. I often enjoy holier feelings when walking abroad beneath the blue vault of heaven than in any temple made with hands.[1]

'To see and enjoy Westminster Abbey as one would wish is, I may say, impossible—the large number of visitors making it necessary to have a regular form of exhibition; this is incompatible with any lengthened examination of its various monuments. In a portion of the church no guide teazes you with his monotonous descriptions, or hurries you on from place to place, so that you have leisure to think your own thoughts and to wander about as fancy dictates.'[2]

After visiting St. Paul's he had commented with expressions of regret on the number of monuments in 'a Christian temple to the memory of the destroyers of mankind, to the exclusion of the apostles of a peaceful and benevolent policy (for the exception only proves the rule).' In Westminster Abbey, although he found monuments of warriors reposing 'beside the ashes of worth and wisdom and real greatness, on the whole the impressions received are of an exalted character: to feel one's self surrounded with memorials of some of the best and noblest men who have lived and handed down to us the records of their genius is a high gratification.'

'If the powers of man be limited in comparison with the immensity of Creation, and marred by his passions, yet they are still grand and noble, and worthy of a glorious immortality. With all our knowledge we are only on the threshold of the Temple of Wisdom; but each succeeding generation adding a little to the stock of man's attainments and his virtues, I hope the goal will be reached by future generations, and that their predecessors will be permitted to see this fruition of earthly happiness from out the windows of High Heaven's blissful retreats.'

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[1] Page 299. [2] Now all is free at certain hours.

M.

To ———.

'*February*, 1854.

'I have not been idle of late. I have written two letters on juvenile delinquency, and one on Temperance: I also wrote a letter to the Irish exiles in America, still holding them to their principles. ———[1] has thrown off all reserve and come out a full-blown pro-slavery man, and in so doing he has pronounced his own doom. It is painful to be thus so often reminded of the weakness and the wickedness of humanity; it is sad discouragement to our labours for human improvement to find our faith in truthfulness so often disappointed: yet this should serve to stimulate us to good deeds, as principles are eternal and cannot be overthrown by the shortcomings of their miserable professors. . . . . Railway speed is indeed amazing, but it is the movement of a sloth in comparison with the lightnings of the Electric Telegraph which now brings us from London the words of wisdom!—spoken in Parliament a few minutes after they find utterance—I think we have the printed details in about two hours. . . . . Prince Albert has come unscathed out of the fiery furnace of detraction.[2] No one is spared when party purposes are to be served; yet even here honesty is ever found to be the best policy in the long run.'

To ———.

'*November*, 1854.

. . . . 'Our winter session at Royal Dublin Society has commenced. I don't know how I shall come off to-morrow. I am to bring forward a motion to open the Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, to the public, on Sundays; I will get some support, but it is probable that the opponents will muster strong, at

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[1] See note, p. 111.

[2] "In the House of Commons Lord John Russell triumphantly refuted the calumnies relating to the Prince Consort's interference in the foreign affairs of the country."—"Irving's Annals," 31st January, 1854.

least I am so warned.[1] . . . . We had a great crowd in Cuffe-lane Temperance Hall on Sunday.'

To ———

'*December*, 1854.

'. . . . The main point for us all is to strive after sincerity: profession without practice is valueless. We ought not to dislike any one merely on account of difference of opinion; we cannot draw a line and say—here shalt thou go and no farther; it is because men have ever been governed by this conceited spirit that so much mutual alienation on the subject of religion exists in the world. God bears with us all, but we are not willing to bear with one another; all sects look with horror on the sentiments of those who differ from them. The pure doctrines of our Saviour did not save him and his followers from persecution, and if they all re-appeared now on earth and preached and acted as they did at their advent, they would find many bitter opponents amongst those who profess to honour them, and few, very few, followers. . . . . How much more noble it would be for the people of Europe to repudiate the "Prince of Peace" than to profess, as they do, to be his disciples, and yet to rush like demons against each other in war. . . . . Infidelity is a war-cry when men would incite popular fury against their opponents, so that, in fact, it is as often a term of honour instead of reproach. No one can doubt the power of the Almighty to perform miracles; but many doubt that He has ever deviated from those laws which He originally laid down for the government of His creation. I do not myself think that the miracles recorded in the New Testament add anything to the force and truth of the religion of our Saviour; in point of fact, have they had any effect at all in inducing men to follow his guidance? His truest followers are those who love him for the intrinsic loveliness of his precepts, which, it is sorrowful to think, have as yet taken very little root in the hearts of men. "If ye would be my disciples ye must love one another." . . . . I have read but

[1] Opened, 1861, p. 137.

little of the bloody news from the Crimea.[1] . . . . All projects for human improvement will be put aside while this terrible, this wicked, this most unnecessary war shall last. . . . . Revenge for the slain is now the cry.'

'*29th December.*

'. . . . Christmas has come and gone; ———'s plum-pudding without alcohol, and without suet, was as excellent as any we ever had.'

N.

As before mentioned, he frequently addressed appeals to the Irish in America to be faithful to their principles of liberty; the *Freeman*, when publishing one of his letters in 1856, expressed a hope that his statements as to Irish support of the pro-slavery party were rather severe; his reply is here given, also the remarks of an American editor on the first letter referred to:—

'*To the Editor of the "Freeman."*

'35, ECCLES-STREET,

'*10th April*, 1856.

'DEAR SIR,—I thank you for publishing my letter "to the Irish in America," in the *Freeman's Journal* (may the name be ever indicative of its zealous advocacy of liberty and justice!) and for your comments on it. No man will rejoice more sincerely than I shall do, if my words produce an indignant denial from many Irishmen in the United States, accompanied by an honest and manly declaration that they have always been, and that they ever will be, the true friends of liberty, civil and religious, for all mankind. I love my countrymen, and I wish to see them pursue such a line of conduct, at home and abroad, as will secure for them the respect of other nations. That they have not done so in America is too true.

'Faithfully yours,

'JAMES HAUGHTON.'

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[1] Page 122.

"'LIBERATOR,' BOSTON, U.S.A.
"*9th May*, 1856.

"THE IRISH IN AMERICA.—We have copied from the Dublin *Freeman* a most timely and faithful letter from that excellent and untiring philanthropist, James Haughton, of Dublin, respecting the recreant conduct of the Irish in America in regard to the anti-slavery struggle. He is more than justified in all that he says about them. They are greatly to be blamed, and as deeply to be pitied. We hope they will feel his rebuke and profit by it. 'Faithful are the words of a friend,' and Ireland and Irishmen have never had a better friend than James Haughton. Daniel O'Connell held him in the highest respect. In the cause of temperance he is ever at work, and doing what in him lies, with his voice and his pen, to consummate the reformation which Father Mathew so auspiciously began."

O.

From Notes of a Visit to Limerick to speak on Temperance, and thence to West and South of Ireland, 1858 :—

. . . . 'The drive from Kilrush[1] to Kilkee[2] (some seven or eight miles) presents anomalies which it is hard to reconcile: a miserable country, seemingly incapable of remunerating the toil of the husbandman, literally swarming with a comfortable population. I could hardly call to mind any portion of Ireland so well studded with well-built cottages, generally neat in appearance—of course I mean comparatively speaking—nearly all well white-washed, and thatched with more care than I ever saw in any other district.' During the two or three days of his stay at Kilkee, where he saw the Atlantic for the first time, there was a heavy gale blowing from the west, and he wrote and spoke with much admiration of the grandeur of the sea. . . . . 'We had great enjoyment in looking at the waves rolling in, and displaying their emerald loveliness in colours of such brilliancy as no painter could depict. . . . . The dashing of the waves against the Duggerna reef, and the mounting upwards for a moment of the white spray in clouds of snowy dust formed one great item of that beauty which made me for a while once more a young

[1] A small port in County Clare, on north shore of the Shannon estuary.
[2] Bathing-place in County Clare, with grand cliffs, and open to Atlantic Ocean.

enthusiast!' . . . . 'It is pleasant to be able to look at the bright side of human life. We meet with disappointments in plenty to give a gloomy colouring to many days of our existence. So long as I can remember, my disposition has led me to look with a favourable eye on circumstances as they arise, and to this turn of mind I owe much of the happiness I have hitherto enjoyed. With my best intentions to banish from my thoughts the unavoidable sorrows of life, I often feel them press heavily upon me, so that when bright times come it is a sort of religious duty with me to make the most of them.'

One day was given to Ross and Loophead, passing over perhaps some thirty miles of country. After continued enthusiasm about the cliffs and the sea, he returns to the people, mentions the absence of trees, gardens, and demesnes. . . . . 'The poor, however, seem to have found an earthly paradise in all this region; their houses are better than those occupied by the same class in most other parts of Ireland, and their well-stocked haggards afford evidence of much real comfort. I did not see any unoccupied land. The country is literally covered with cottages, and one is astonished how the population are supported by land which seems so barren, and the farming of which seems so inferior. T—— told me that the people are rich, that most of the farmers around had from £ 50 to £ 300 saved, besides their stocks of cows, sheep, and poultry, that their holdings ranged from 5 to 20 acres, the latter quantity very rarely held, and that fabulous sums of money—as much as £ 20 an acre—besides the full value in rent, were often given for farms.'

Having visited the cliffs of Moher, he returned to Kilrush, and crossed the Shannon to Foynes, in the County Limerick, and remarked . . . . 'In the short journey of one hour and a-half from Foynes, we saw more demesne residences than we had seen in our journeys of four and five days in the County Clare. But what was gained in this respect was lost as regards the peasantry, who are neither so well housed or so numerous in this highly cultivated district.'

The present writer, when travelling on two or three occa-

sions at long intervals, between Kerry and Galway, was struck by the difference or superiority, not only of the habitations of Clare, but also of the appearance of the people. On inquiry amongst friends, he found that some few had made similar observations. Why it should be so—if the observations of a few be correct—may possibly be easily traceable; but the writer has not met with any satisfactory explanation in several works on Ireland which he has consulted, and which do not mention any especial difference.

P.

In his Swiss notes, 1862, he mentioned conversations with a Belgian gentleman who knew England well, and was a great admirer of English institutions. . . . . 'He considered us to be the freest people in the world; and I entirely agree with him in this opinion. We have, I believe, a larger amount of liberty than other people; but it has long appeared to me that this fact, so far from inducing us to remain quiet and inert under existing evils, is the very strongest reason for an exactly opposite course of conduct: a free people must always be on the alert to preserve their liberties. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." He is no lover of his country or his kind, who holds his tongue when by a bold utterance he can assist in making more perfect the noble conditions of freedom under which the people of Great Britain and Ireland have the happiness to live.[1] The gentleman I allude to was nine days at the Falls of Niagara; I asked him his idea of the comparative flow of water over those and the Rhine falls, where we then were, and he said he imagined the former was a hundred times greater.[2]

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[1] In comparison to other nations.

[2] About four to five times greater!—

	Height, feet.	Average water per minute, cubic feet.	Average river basins, square miles.
Niagara	173	20,000,000	298,000
Rhine Falls	63	4,800,000	65,000

"Popular Encyclopedia;" "Shaw, 1823;" "Louis Figunier, 1870;" "J. S. Buckingham;" "Murray, 1867;" "Maury," &c.

". . . . On entering France there was some little delay for examining luggage, but it was done politely. When will this practice be altogether at an end, and nations have the wisdom to allow free trade to permeate all lands, as the air and the sunshine and the rains from heaven send their refreshing influences throughout the whole earth? The scenery is fine between Belfort and Besançon, and farther along the River Doubs, I have seen nothing more beautiful in any of my journeys; a noble river runs through a winding valley, and also a navigable canal; it winds beautifully, like the Wye, but it is a far nobler stream, and mountains of no ordinary beauty of outline rise to a great height, clothed with timber; sometimes this valley spreads into wide plains of beautiful verdure, again it narrows and assumes the character of a mountain pass: even after the glorious Alpine scenery of Switzerland, this beautiful pass in France cannot but be looked upon with feelings of admiration.'

Q.

To ———, *in London.*

'35, ECCLES-STREET,
'*October* 23, 1868.

'Thanks for the papers. Two or three articles in the *Spectator* pleased me much. One, on B. Osborne's jokes in the House, is very amusing: even in that staid assembly some fun occasionally is relished; like condiments with our food, it gives a zest to proceedings which might otherwise prove very unpalatable, and, according to the *Spectator*, he performs that work without much sacrifice of dignity. . . . . I have glanced over the 1st vol. of Jefferson.[1] One passage about the French Revolution particularly struck me, where he recommends a compromise with the King, in accordance with terms he was willing to grant; this, the Assembly declined—which Jefferson thought a "lamentable error," and says that, after thirty years of war, and the loss of millions of lives, they

[1] "Memoir and Letters, &c.:" one of the ablest men of the American Revolution, and third President, 1801.

did not obtain any more.[1] War has ever been a folly as well as a crime. J——did not like the Queen [of France]; he gives an unfavourable account of her, such as I do not remember to have met with in any other writer—so much for the value of history!'

R.

To ————

'*August* 18, 1870.

'Your letter has put me in mind of some of my recollections of former days. "Gods! can a Roman Senate long debate—which of the two to choose, slavery or death?"[2] You blame Gladstone and Bright for not making that, their party cry in the ears of a later generation, one still well disposed to take delight in war. I go for Lucius' peaceful answer to the fiery Sempronius—

"My thoughts, I must confess, are turned on peace."

I suppose ———— joins in your sentiments for the call of battle. I agree with *Punch* that the parties[3] now engaged are "six of one and half-a-dozen of the other," both of them made bad by the countenance of the world; France, I consider to be the worst of the two as she declared war. As long as public opinion of nations sanctions standing armies, so long will this bloody work spread ruin abroad, and prevent the progress of civilization.'

'*August* 15, 1870.

'Home politics in the shape of our city election are just now affording us some relief from the eternal din of blood, which seems to be a pastime in Europe—a delightful carnival, calling on all men to unite in its celebration—"a baptism of

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[1] He was Minister in Paris from 1784 to 1789. It was, probably, during that time he advised the compromise: and thirty years later he wrote the above observations, when preparing his autobiography.

[2] Addison's "Cato."

[3] Prussians and French.

blood"—to be courted as a blessing to mankind, and not shunned as a calamity. Out of the seed now sown is to spring up an enduring season of peace and prosperity to nations ! !'

S.

To ———

'35, ECCLES-STREET,
'*14th August*, 1871.

'. . . . The British Association meeting in Edinburgh seems to have gone off admirably. Many of the speculations of the learned folk are amusing, for their apparent inconsequence, to such unlearned persons as myself. Sir William Thomson gained some laurels as president, and some knocks also for his theory of life; but, we may as well all of us try to believe that God did it all; for in the end, go as *far* back as we may, a first *cause* remains to be solved, and we are unable to solve it. Perhaps the best result arising from these associations is that they bring folk together who have some ideas in their heads which they don't think should be always buried there. The indifferent men and women, who, if they have any brains at all, make no use of the gift, are the great drag-chains on civilization !'

T.

ADDRESS

Of the Board of Directors of the Dublin Mechanics' Institute, to JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ., J.P., *on his retiring from the office of Treasurer to that Institution.*

"DEAR AND RESPECTED SIR,

"We, the Board of Directors of the Dublin Mechanics Institute, cannot permit the occasion of your retiring from the position which you so long, so ably, and so usefully filled in connexion with this Institution, to pass away without tendering to you, on our own behalf, and on behalf of all our fellow-members, the respectful, earnest, and sincere expression of our gratitude for the many important services and the material aid which

your connexion with our Institution, for nearly thirty years, has conferred upon it, and upon the artisan classes of our city, for whose intellectual and social advancement it was established.

"You have been not only the foremost, but almost the only man of your rank and position in society in our metropolis, to identify yourself with the laudable efforts made, through the medium of this Institution, to elevate the mental and moral status of the working-man, to give him the opportunity of spending his leisure hours in developing and improving his intellectual faculties, instead of debasing and destroying them amidst the degrading attractions of the gin-palace. It has been mainly through your indefatigable and invaluable co-operation that the Dublin Mechanics Institute, originally established on an humble and unpretending scale, in a corner of one of our public establishments, has been enabled to attain a separate and independent existence, and has been placed in the permanent possession of 'a local habitation and a name' that entitles it to rank amongst the most prominent and most useful of our public institutions.

"You did not rest satisfied with merely according to our earlier efforts the influence of your name and high social and intellectual position as one of the great *moral reformers* of our age, but were ever and always found ready to come forward in earnest and eloquent advocacy of our claims to public favour and support, and with generous contributions to our funds whenever you found such to be required.

"Had many of our influential fellow-citizens, on whom our claims were equally strong, been equally as prompt and zealous as you have been in recognising and advocating these claims, or equally generous in responding to them, not with barren sympathy, but with effective material aid, our Institution should long ere this have attained such a position of prosperity, and such a degree of organization and efficiency in all its departments, as should leave it second to no similar institution of its class in the Empire.

"It is with sincere and profound regret we now find that the failing state of your health will not permit of the longer continuance of your connexion with our Institution, and that we shall in future be deprived of the invaluable aid we have hitherto derived from your advice and co-operation in every important matter affecting its progress, efficiency, and stability. But this unavoidable severance of your official connexion with our Institution shall never efface from the minds of its Members the deep and grateful remembrance of the many important services and signal favours you have conferred upon it through a long series of years. On the contrary, each succeeding year shall but deepen and intensify the feelings of respect, veneration, and gratitude which every right-minded Member of our Institution, who has already shared, or who may hereafter participate in its advantages, owes to you as *its best, its ablest*, and its *oldest friend*.

"Trusting that you may yet live many years to enjoy, in a long protracted and peaceful afternoon of life, the pleasing and consoling retro-

spect of an active, honourable, and useful career, devoted in no slight degree to promote every public improvement, and every salutary, social reform tending to eradicate the vices of your fellow-countrymen, and to develop and strengthen the nobler qualities of head and heart with which nature has amply gifted them; and that you will accept this humble, but sincere and earnest expression of our esteem and gratitude as the faithful exponent of the feeling universally entertained for you by every Member of the 'Dublin Mechanics Institution,'

"We beg to subscribe ourselves, with profound respect,

"Your obliged and ever grateful Servants,

"M. Brogan, *Chairman;* Thomas A. Bowen, Timothy Sexton, Edward Brien, Patrick M'Guinness, John Herbert, Edward Dooley, John O'Driscoll, Gervase Plunkett, Thomas Caffrey, J. C. Campion, Thomas Cuddy, Peter Flanagan, *Directors of the Dublin Mechanics Institution.*

"*7th August*, 1872."

'TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE DUBLIN MECHANICS INSTITUTE.

'MY DEAR FRIENDS,

'I have received the very beautiful Address you have presented to me on my retiring from the official position I have for so many years held among you. Such a testimonial from the Council with whom I have been so long on terms of intimacy—striving by our united efforts to raise our countrymen into that status of intellectual acquirement which we always felt they were well fitted to occupy—such a testimonial from such a body of men has almost unmanned me, and nearly unfitted me for the duty of reading a suitable reply, and my sight being impaired makes the difficulty still more trying. I have written very little the last six months, but I feel assured that you will excuse my inability to give a fitting answer to your Address, which has come on me by surprise; and it will, while I live, be ever a source of satisfaction to my mind to know that the work in which I have been so long engaged has produced such happy results. As one of yourselves, I have ever worked, assisting you in creating a desire in the hearts of our fellow-men for the acquisition of knowledge which can alone place any of us in the way of acquiring that position of independence which confers true dignity and

honour on man. I would like to dwell at some little length on this point, but I may not do so, for the reasons already referred to.

'I hope our Institute will long flourish, and ever have as its conductors men like yourselves, devoted to its interests, and friends to our fellow-men in the best and wisest sense of the term.

'Your Address, my friends, is renewed evidence of the cordiality and kindness of the members of our Institute, and I hope it will remain long in my family as evidence of the kind feelings of my countrymen.

'I thank you most warmly and sincerely, and

'I remain affectionately yours,

'35, ECCLES-STREET, 'JAMES HAUGHTON.

'*7th August*, 1872.'

U.

Amongst his papers he found a letter from his eldest brother, dated 17 March, 1846, telling him "of a poor woman who attributed her good fortune, and possession of twenty-nine pigs, to God, to Father Mathew, and to Mr. Haughton of Dublin, who strengthened her sons in their good resolutions by the fine speech he made on Graigue Bridge; formerly they had drunkenness and poverty, now they have peace and plenty."

He wrote his last letter to his brother—

'35, ECCLES-STREET,

'11 *January*, 1873.

'MY DEAR BROTHER,

'Although I am now very badly able to write, I wish to send you a line, with a gem you sent me many years ago, which I prized highly. I believe you will find pleasure in reading it again after so long a period has elapsed since you wrote it, particularly if the good woman be still living; and you can convey to her the pleasure her words have afforded me, and the expression of my hope that the good fortune then laid on a good foundation has gone on ever since.

Tell her I have continued steady to my Temperance principles, which I have endeavoured to extend more and more widely ever since, and that I believe God has enabled me to do some little good during my life in extending them over my beloved country, among whose people I hope they have taken some good root. I hear frequently about your health, which I am glad to find is pretty good, and that your dear daughters are doing for you what my beloved ones are doing for me, striving to make your[1] decline peaceful and happy as possible. I suffer a good deal from want of sleep, but I have no pain. God is dealing very gently with me.

'Your truly affectionate Brother,

'JAMES.'

V.

The following expression of Faith, Hope, Charity, have been selected from many others written at intervals during many years:—

'*Sunday.*

'. . . . My mind has been much engaged this day in communing with the spirit of my beloved wife. Years have now elapsed since her pure and gentle spirit fled from me to join with its kindred spirits in the kingdom of the Universal Father, in which blessed abode I trust it will be my happy experience to be again united to her whom I dearly loved on earth, and with whom I have often felt as if I held sweet communion since she was outwardly taken away from me. Yes, dearly loved one, often do I wander, as it were, with thee through the delicious fields of that beautiful country of which, I doubt not, you are a blessed inhabitant. It is the constant prayer of my heart to my Heavenly Father, that He will be pleased, at the termination of my course in this state of being, to allow me entrance into that Glorious Kingdom where we may together, and in company of myriads of other purified spirits, live for ever in His presence and in joyful intercourse with Jesus, who will teach us lessons of higher degrees of

[1] His eldest brother survived him about a year.

purity and excellence throughout ages of a boundless eternity. Oh! may we all look forward with humble hope and trust to this glorious consummation of our existence; may it warm our hearts with an ardent love of God, and a daily reassured determination to follow the precepts and example of our blessed Saviour, as far as the frailties of our nature will allow, looking as his disciples to his Father and to our Father, for pardon of all our sins. Let us be earnest in the fulfilment of our duties; let us bear in mind the beautiful precepts of Jesus, our leader and guide to the realms of bliss. Love appears to me to have been the ruling principle of his mind while he was on earth, and it is doubtless the same noble sentiment which actuates him in his closer intercourse with his redeemed in the Kingdom of his Father. May we therefore love one another and love all our brethren of mankind, and do good to all to the extent of our ability, in full confidence of the favour of our Creator. May the bent of our minds be continually leading us in the "path which Jesus trod." Let us be kind and benevoleut to the poor and the afflicted, and yet shall we be unprofitable servants, and have great need of forgiveness. But the Creator is merciful; He will, I believe, deal mercifully with us and abundantly pardon us, if we look unto Him "with full purpose of heart."

'Within a few months the spirit of the pure-minded ——— has gone to join the happy spirits in heaven. Oh! how joyful must Jesus have felt when he led her up to the Throne of God; glad indeed must have been the host of purified angels to receive her into their holy communion. My venerable father, my beloved mother, my darling wife, and many other blessed spirits, how you must have rejoiced when the mild, the benignant Saviour led her in amongst you. Oh! God Almighty, the hope of yet participating in this effulgent bliss gives rise to a holy transport even on earth. May all my friends, may all mankind, be found worthy of this great salvation. Oh! Lord God, graciously hear my humble prayer.'

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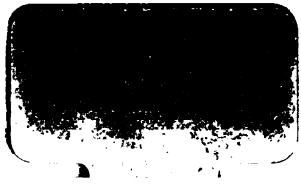

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